



*The most Reverend Father in God John Williams.
Sometime L^d Keeper of the Great Seale of England.
L^d Bishop of Lincoln. And L^d Arch Bishop of York.*



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THE
L I F E
O F
JOHN WILLIAMS,

L^d KEEPER of the GREAT SEAL,
Bishop of Lincoln, and ABp. of York.

In the Reigns of King JAMES, and
King CHARLES the First.

WHEREIN

*Are related several Remarkable Occurences of
those Times both in Church and State.*

With an APPENDIX,

Giving a just ACCOUNT of his Benefactions
to St. John's College in Cambridge.

By AMBR. PHILIPS, Fellow
of the same College.

The Second Edition.

C A M B R I D G E,

Printed for A. Roper at the Black Boy; and R. Basset at
the Mitre in Fleetstreet, 1703.



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THE PREFACE.

TO save my READER the need-
less trouble of Criticism, I
here advertise him once for all, that
he shall be mistaken if he takes me
for an Author in this Book: I am at
best but a Collector, and a Transcriber;
and therefore I will not be answer-
able for any Matter of Fact related
in the following Papers, since I have
refer'd him all along to the Authors
themselves, which I have quoted some-
times for my Dates of Time, some-
times for a farther Illustration of some
Passages, which for Brevity's sake I
have but just touch'd at; sometimes
for parallel Places, to confirm what
Bishop Hacket has affirm'd, and some-
times for what contradicts his Ac-
count of Things, that so the Reader
may hear both sides, and then deter-

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mine as he pleases. And I would not have it thought that I have soil'd the Margin of my Book (Slovenlineß being accounted by some as the Badge of Learning) to shew my Reading; for I did it merely because we live in an Age that will take nothing upon Trust, and wherein nothing less than Seeing is Believing. And since it is the common Cheat of Writers to declare themselves unprejudic'd, on purpose to betray their Readers into security, I had no other way left me to shew my Integrity. For I doubt not, if any will be at the same trouble that I have been at, of comparing the several Historians, Letters and Pamphlets of those Times together, but that their Judgment of Bishop Williams will in the main agree with the Account I have given of him. And they will find Reason enough to believe, that neither he nor Bishop Laud are the Monsters, that Partiality and Prejudice, and sometimes Ignorance

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rance have made them : and that whatever Blemishes are interwoven with their Glorious Actions (as spots in the Sun) they have sufficient Beauties to compensate for them, and to give them both the lasting Repute of Great and Good Men. Both whose Worth I take to be so Self-sufficient, that there is no need of pulling down one to set up the other. And I am apt to believe (adding this Hint to what I have said upon this Point in the Book it self) that if the truth were known, Buckingham might be accountable in a great measure for the Differences betwixt Laud and Williams; who in all probability when he was disgusted with the Lord Keeper, might engage Laud against him for the speedier and more effectual Accomplishment of his own Revenge in the Ruin of Williams.

The Preface.

Bishop Hacket is the great Store-House whence I have taken my Materials for the following LIFE; and because there may be a great many who may not have Leisure upon their Hands to read him, I have inserted all the Secret History that is remarkable in him into my Work, or at least I have given short Hints of it ev'ry where, and directed those that have a mind for any further Information to the respective places in him, where they may find it. His Lordship's commendable Gratitude to his Great Patron Williams, has made him so very studious of Embellishments for his Life, that I can liken the Lord Keeper, as represented by him, to nothing so properly as to the Statue of some Ancient Hero, so beset with Trophies and Ornaments, that the Comlineß and just Proportion of the Image underneath is scarce discernable at first sight. And Bishop
Hacket

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Hacket in his Book has set out the Lord Keeper, just for all the World, as he was when Living, that is, surrounded with a multitude of Learning, and all the costly variety of Science.

My First Part, and a great deal of my Second, has nothing in it that is (properly speaking) Historical, but falls rather wholly under the Notion of Biography. For which reason, having but little Matter to work upon, I was forc'd to make the best shift I could to keep my Reader a-doing with occasional Reflections of such sort as the Actions themselves did seem to suggest. And I desire my Reader would pardon me, if I have presented him with a Miscellany of Style, and now and then to humour my self, have been guilty of some little Sallies and Excursions, to divert the Fatigue of Collection.

NOTE,

THE Figures in the Margin of the Book included in Parentheses thus (5,) refer to the Pages in the First Part of Bishop Hacket's Book; and those in Crochets thus [5,] to the Pages in the Second Part.

ERRATA.

Page 69 Line 21. read *arbitratu*. Page 74 Line 11^s read *bear*. Page 182 Line 19, read *refigne*.

A CATALOGUE of what Writings ^{Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 805,}
of ABp. Williams's are extant, or
were design'd for the Publick.

1. **A** Sermon of Apparel, before the King and Prince at *Theobalds*, on *Matth. 11. 8. Febr. 22. 1619.* Quart. *Lond. 1620.*
2. A Sermon before the *Lords.* Quar. *Lond. 1623.*
3. A Sermon at the Funeral of King *James,* Quart. *Lond. 1625.*
4. *Perseverantia Sanctorum, &c.* on *Job 42. 12.* Quart. *Lond. 1628.*
5. A Letter to the Vicar of *Grant-ham,* Quart. *Lond. 1636.* answer'd by *Dr. Pet. Heylyn* in his *Coal from the Altar.*
6. The Holy Table, Name and Thing, *Lond. 1637.* which is a Reply to the *Coal from the Altar.* Whereupon *Dr. Heylyn* publish'd a Rejoynder call'd *Antidotum Lincolnienſe.*
7. *Annotatones in Vet. Testam. & in Ephesios,* Oct. *Cantabr. 1653.* publish'd under the Name of *Johan. Eboracensis,* which some suppose to be the Bishop's own.

8. A Manual: or, Three small and plain Treatises, 1. Of Prayer or Active. 2. Of Principles or Passive. 3. Of Resolution or oppositive Divinity; for the private use of a most Noble Lady, to preserve her from the Danger of *Popery*.

There is likewise a Sermon or two more of his, whose Titles I have not.

9. The Lord Keeper's Letters in the *Cabala*, and several Speeches and Letters of his in Bishop *Hacket's* Book.

To these we may add what he design'd for the Publick.

1. *Vaughanus Redivivus*, a MS. Life of Bp. *Vaughan*, dedicated by *Williams* to Chancellor *Egerton*: Which lies now in the Hands of a Learned Gentleman in *Cambridge*.

2. Comment in *Latin* upon the whole *Bible*, begun but never finish'd.

3. A Collection of the Works of Bishop *Grossthead*, begun likewise but never finish'd.



*From his Birth, till such Time
as he was settled in Chan-
cellor Egerton's Family.*

PART I.

IN this LIFE, which I have un-^{The Me-}
dertaken, I shall use the same Me-^{thod ob-}
thod with a good Projector, when^{served in}
^{this Life.}
he would give a full View of an Ex-
quisite Piece of Architecture, and lay
before you a Prospect of it on all sides.
One entire Draught, tho' never so
well contriv'd, would be but imper-
fect; because in representing one Part
compleat, he must of necessity conceal
another: The Front and the Back-
Parts will never shew themselves at
once. And should I take this Great
Man in but one Posture, tho' never so
graceful, yet I should rob him of a
considerable part of his due Glory,
and my *Reader* of no less a share of
Profit; since He was One, that might
A be

The LIFE of ABp. Williams,

be a Pattern to any in Four several Respects; as a Private-Man, a Church-Man, a States-Man, and a Declining-Favourite; the most difficult Character of all to sustain, so as to quit the Stage without a general Hiss. Therefore I shall divide my Work according to these Four Circumstances of his Life, beginning from his Birth, with that short Course he ran in Privacy. And 'tis our Misfortune, that active Bodies very rarely continue long in one Posture, scarce long enough indeed for our Imitation; so that we must take them at a Blush, or not at all: So transient, in Truth, is any of those few real Advantages, We have offer'd us; as if Providence design'd we should be always upon our Guard, and ready to catch at Opportunities.

His Parentage and Birth.
(5.)

But, to begin: *Edmond Williams* Esq; of *Aber-Conway* in *Caernarvonshire*, was the Son of *W^m Williams* Esq; of *Cogbwllanne*, near adjoyning, and of *Dorothy* Daughter to Sir *W^m Griffith* Kt, of *Penrhyn*. Now this *Edmond* took to Wife *Mary* the Daughter of *Owen Wyn* Esq; and by her had Five Sons and Two Daughters. Of the Male Children, *John* (whose Life we are

Lord Keeper, &c.

3

are writing) was the Youngest, born about or upon the 25th of *March* 1582, at *Aber-Conway*, a Sea-Town in *Caernarvonshire*.

Williams of *Coghwillanne* (his ^{The Arms of his Family.} Grand-father) branch'd out his Pedigree from the Princes of *North-Wales*, in King *Stephen's* Days, and so continu'd his Coat of *Three Saxons Heads* (*Tree Pen Saix* in *Welsh*) constantly without any the least alteration from *Ednevet Vychan*, Lord Steward of *Wales*, in the 25th Year of *Hen. III.* (6.)

His Descent, his Parentage, and all the Trappings of Birth I am the more particular in, not as tho' he stood in need of such foreign Embellishments to recommend him; but because Sir *A. W.* and some others, pitifully, as well as falsely, strove to insinuate his mean ^{Co. & Ch. p. 141.} Extraction, when they could invent no other likely Scandal to make him odious at Court: A Practice very general (as may be easily observ'd) when any of the Clergy rise to Places of Dignity and Honour; as tho' a *Cassock* were no more honourable than a *Livery*. But, to proceed:

His Grand-mother, the Lady *Griffith*, ^{Is sent to School.} as well as his Parents, took due

A 2

and

The LIFE of ABp. Williams,

and timely Care of his Education. And that it might be such as should fit him to promote God's Glory, and to be by that means a Credit to them, they determin'd to make him a Scholar. For which End he was sent to the Publick School at *Reuthen*, for his First Rudiments, in *Latin* and *Greek*.

(7.)

Here it was that he first gave some small Essays of the future Activity of his Mind: always very busie, and in earnest pursuit of two contrary Courses. For one while nothing would go down with him but Play, and bodily Exercise; another while never without a Book in his Hand. The Master a little surpriz'd, at first knew not well what to make of so strange a Composition. But, like a prudent Man, upon second Thoughts, seeing the eagerness of his Temper, he thought it might not be safe to curb him: so he left him to the swing of his Humour, and the Lad came on a-pace, and soon out-stript all his Fellows. When he had been here for some time close at his Book, and began now to shew himself a little more at large (like a blowing Flower in a forward Spring) It happen'd that Dr. *Vaughan* (afterward

ward Bishop of *London*) coming into *Wales*, took *Reuthen* in his way: where he found his little Kinsman *John Williams*, the Captain of all the School. The Dr. glad to find him come on so well, and willing to further his growth, ^{Is remov'd to Cam-} bethought himself of removing him speedily to *Cambridge*. And he admitted him there, entring the 16th Year of his Age, in *Saint John's College*, under the Tuition of One Mr. *Owen Gwin*, a *Welsh* Gentleman, and Fellow of that House, 1598. And by the College Register, I find that in the same Year he was admitted into the Number of the *Scholars of the House* on the 5th of *November*.

At *Cambridge* his Countrymen re- ^{Is carref-} ceiv'd him with a hearty Wellcome; ^{sed by his} and that must always be said for their ^{Country-} Honour, That they are sincere and ^{men, and} cordial in their Affections to one an- ^{admired} other, beyond most People. As they ^{for his} carress'd Young *Williams*, so likewise ^{Beauty,} did they never cease praising him, and speaking much in his Commendation up and down the University; inso-much that he was soon distinguished, and had a great many Eyes upon him from the very first; and the more,

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because his Beauty, and the comeliness of his Form were very remarkable. And however some Philosophers may speak slightly of the Endowments of the Body; yet certainly there is in *Physiognomy* somewhat more than a great many dream of; and an outward harmony in the Countenance inclines us to a good liking of the Person at first Sight.

Laugh'd
at for his
Welsh
Tone.

There are few of our *Welsh* Youth but at their first coming abroad, would move almost any Man to Laughter with the Native Tone of their Voice, and by pronouncing all their *English*, as if they spoke it in a Passion. And thus it was with our Youngster, which would often put him to the Blush. Those that knew him at his first Admission, would often tell him, That he came up better stock'd with *Latin* and *Greek*, than with good *English*. And well for him that he did; for this made him the more retired Student, because he was resolv'd to shut himself up from all Company as close as possible, till he had smooth'd his Tongue, and could manage it like others his Companions. So soon was he inspir'd with the generous Spirit of Emulation, and
was

was asham'd to be outdone, even in what he was never bred to. And this he practiced the more earnestly, by reason of the strong Ambition he had to be an Orator: so that in a short time he overcame this National Defect of his so far, that when ever he had occasion to speak publicly, his Gesture and Pronunciation were as elegant as his Invention, and his Manner gave a Lustre and *Brillant* to his Matter.

His Natural Parts were far above (8.) the common Level; but that which ^{His Parts, and Appli-} overtopt them all, was his Memory, ^{cation to his Studies,} which was quick and retentive to a Miracle. But yet (in this only like a Miser) he was not satisfied (as too many are) with the plentiful Patrimony with which Nature had furnish'd him; but he was for enlarging his Store, and grasping all he could. So that, altho' his Abilities were such, you'd think they did not need Improvement, yet he apply'd himself to his Study, with that Diligence, as if he had nothing else to depend upon; and was (if I may say so) incontinent in his Appetite after Learning. While (7.) he was yet but *Under-Graduate*, he

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had read over many Authors in several Sciences, together with the most considerable Historians and Poets, *Greek and Latin*. A great deal (you'll say) to be done in so short a Time! But it seems Nature was partial to him, and laid but a small Tax upon his Time; for he was of so happy a Constitution, that from his Youth upward he never required more than three Hours Sleep in Twenty-four, to keep him in perfect Health.

*Sleeps but
3 hours in
24.*

(8.)
*His Religion and
Virtues.*

This was the large Fund he had to traffick with, and to become a considerable Man in Time. Now let us see what hopes there were of him as a Christian; since a Defect in this Point is therefore the more inexcusable, because it lies level with all Capacities, and our ignorance is wholly wilful. As for his Religion, he did not make a bustle, a noise and a shew with it, as some Folk do, whom our Saviour assures to their Cost, That they have their Reward. But yet he was very well furnish'd with excellent Morals, and such Vertues as are requisite and commendable in greener Years; for there is a *Decorum* even in these Matters, and all Vertues suit not so well with

with all Ages. As in Practice, so likewise in Opinion, he was careful from the Beginning to avoid all Error; knowing no doubt, that our Thoughts are the Springs of all our Actions, and that in the sight of God they themselves are Actions. He was constant to the Publick Prayers of the College, and conscientious and regular in his own private Devotions. Modesty is a Virgin-Grace, and therefore more becoming Youth: of this we may conclude he had a large share, in that he was all Submission and Obedience to his Superiours, a never-failing sign of an ingenuous Temper. He was Just to his Word, True to his Friend, and Reconcilable to his Enemy; three Qualifications, that distinguish a great Soul from a poor Spirit, and such as a Monarch may be proud of. From his close Studying you may gather he was no loiterer, no idle Companion; and from the very little Sleep he required, that he was no haunter of Taverns, nor in the least intemperate either in Meat or Drink. His short *College-Commons* satisfied him: hence it is that he was Continent and Chaste. Tho' about seven Years old

*His Mis-
chance
when 7
Years old.*

he had a Mischance (if I may call it so) that seem'd to conspire with his Vertue, and to oblige him to actual Chastity. Being then in his Coats, and taking a Leap from the Walls of *Con-way* Town to the Sea-shore, he thought that the Wind (which was then very strong) by swelling out his Coats like a Sail, would bear him up, as it did some of his Play-fellows; but contrary to his Expectation, he fell with some force with his Belly upon a big ragged Stone, which caused an Infirmary (to use Bishop *Hacket's* Phrase) better understood than farther describ'd. And here I must beg leave to correct an Error about this matter in *Wilson's History of Great Britain*; for he says, That he was assured, that the Bishop was born an Eunuch; so that Dr. *Hacket's* Story before-mention'd deserves more credit, who as being Domestick Chaplain to Bishop *Williams*, might have a truer Information: Besides I find an Account of it, agreeable to this, in a Pamphlet call'd *The Observer Observ'd*, wrote by *H. Lestranger*, in vindication of his History of *Charles the First*. But take it either way, and it is sufficient to clear him and the Countess

P. 197.

Countess of *Buckingham* from the aspersions of some Historians, and to manifest the malice of Sir *A. W.* the Pamphleteer, who would fain persuade Posterity of the Bishop's great Incontinency. P. 140.

But his Sobriety, Temperance and Chastity, are the more commendable; *His Pro-
fuseness.* because he was not, as some of narrow Fortunes are, placed quite below the reach of Temptation; had he been so minded, he had wherewithal to humour any Vice: For all his Friends, as well as his Father, allowed him very plentifully. But in truth, tho' their Liberality was great, yet his own was greater; the Stream was larger than the Fountain that supply'd it; so that his Pockets were generally empty, for out it went faster than it came in. It was his humour from his Cradle, and follow'd him to his Grave, to be profuse. He spent all he could get, besides some for which he ran a tick. Not that I propose him for a Pattern to those of his Age, but therefore I register this small Failing of his, because it may bespeak the Reader's Candour, when he shall hereafter be accus'd of Bribery. (9.)

One

*An In-
stance of his
Generosity.*

One Instance I have to produce, which discovers in him a charitable, frank and generous Temper; and that so much the more, because what we do when we are Young, and have not learn'd to masque our Inclinations, shews us as we are in our selves. Mr. *Edward Lively* (*Hebrew Professor*, and a Worthy Man) was by hard hap reduc'd to Circumstances so very narrow, that to support himself and his Family, he was put to the sad shift of selling a part of his Library. When Young *Williams* heard of this, he scrap'd hard to get him three pounds together, and when he had compass'd it, he went to Mr. *Lively*, and made him a courteous Offer of it. His necessities pleaded so hard, that he accepted of it; and as the only return of Gratitude he could make, he was not ashamed to tell it abroad, to bring his pretty Benefactor into Repute: and much was it talk'd of to his credit, that so little a Hand should open it self, when large ones were shut; when yet if rightly considered, it is but natural: for the longer we live, the stiffer are our Joynts, our Muscles stronger, our Sinews harder, and we ev'ry way fitter for Griping.

But

But to reflect upon our Story; it would be a nice point to determine, whether of the two parties was the most oblig'd; so free and unexpected was the Bounty of the One, so condescending and so grateful were the acknowledgments of the other. But if we compute our Obligations from the Pleasure and Satisfaction we receive from others, I doubt not but *Williams* was the party indebted.

That so candid a Temper should have Enemies will be no News to any One, that has experienc'd how easily People are disgusted, and how hardly pleas'd; as tho' we made it our Business, who should hoard up in his Lifetime the largest share of Discontent. He was hasty and passionate indeed, and his Heat had chafed a great many; a National Failure it was (and what Nation without some) and very predominant in the *Welsh*. The ill will of others he got by beginning so soon to stickle for the Discipline and Ceremonies of the *Church of England*: and others took a distaste to him, because he was wont to frequent the Reverend Mr. *Perkins's* Congregation: What Reason they had for it, I know not,

Fuller's
Holy St.

not, the Character of Mr. *Perkins* being deliver'd down to us for a Learned, pious, and laborious Preacher, who died Minister of St. *Andrews* Parish in *Cambridge*.

Chosen
Fellow of
St. John's.

(10.)

Sits close
to his Studies.

At the close of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, our Student commenc'd Bachelor of Arts, and within a few Days after on the 14th of *April* 1603. he was elected into a Foundation Fellowship, for the Diocese of *Bangor*, as appears from the College Register. Yet for all his Merits, he obtain'd not this without the Opposition of some of the *Seniors*, in whose Votes, together with the Master's, the Power of Election by Statute lies. But it seems a Letter from K. *James* did his Business for him; for Bishop *Hacket* refers to One, wrote by him 22 Years after to his Majesty, acknowledging That his Gracious Letters conferr'd the first Preferment upon him. So that this King, as it happen'd, laid the very Foundation of his future Greatness, and after built him up to the very Height of it. So true is it, that one Benefit, as well as one Injury, draws on another. And now our Young Graduate being set in a convenient posture for
Stu-

Studying, his next care was how he should make the most of the Three Years that lay betwixt him and his Degree of *Master*: Diligence he concluded was the best Husbandry of Time: and so earnest was he at his Bus'ness, that he had constantly some Work a-going forward. *Greek* and *Hebrew* he ply'd closely, as the best Introduction to Divinity; and in these he had the Assistance of the most Eminent Men at that Time in *Cambridge*. To master *French*, he found it a Task of no great difficulty: He dipt into the Elements of *Geometry*; and found amidst his Bus'ness some leisure hours to soften his severer Studies with *Musick*; in which, both Vocal and Instrumental, he had attain'd to a competent Skill. To all this add, That he perform'd his publick Exercises to that Admiration, that all without the Spirit of Prophecy, concluded he was too active for a Fellowship to hold him long: like a generous and High-metled Steed, that disdains to be bounded by a narrow Inclosure, tho' his Pasture be never so rich and flow'ry. So obvious is it to bespeak the future Success of that Youth, that
hath

hath a Constitution proof against Laziness, the very Consumption of a Great *Genius*, by which it dwindles away into nothing in a short time. For it is with the Soul of Man as with his Body; give it Nourishment, or it will prey upon it self.

(11.)
Takes the
Degree of
A. M.

In the Year 1605. He went out *Master of Arts*, and feasted his Friends at the *Commencement*, after his extravagant rate, (for so I will make bold to call it) being better flush'd with Money, by large Presents from many bountiful Hands, than is usual with our young Graduates. But so it was, his Merits got him Friends, and those Friends furnish'd him with Money. So that his Revenues (and those considerable) lay not in dirty Land, but flow'd in to him like the Tribute of a Monarch, from the Good-will of others. And he got not Friends by his Riches (as most do) but got Riches by his Friends; which very few can.

(12.)
His Method in Studying.

Our Student continues still hot in pursuit of his Bus'ness; like a Body set in Motion upon a Descent, which is so far from having the least Inclination to rest, that it gathers fresh Vigour at every Turn. And now he began

began to enter into the deep and spacious Study of *Divinity*; a Field of extent enough for any *Genius*, tho' never so unconfined. He began (as he has sometime in his riper Years told Dr. *Hacket*) to read all the Scriptures with the best *Commentators*. And in his *Common-Places* and *Problems*, he manifested his great Industry, so as to wrest Praise from his *Seniors*, and to merit Thanks from the *Juniors*, whose benefit it is that such Exercises be carefully perform'd. Now he summons all his Vigour, and puts his whole Faculties upon the stretch: For he sets upon Reading the *School-Men*, *Church History*, and the *Fathers* all together. But how is it possible to methodize such a variety of Studies? Why, every Man has, or ought to have such a Method, as best suits his Capacity; and it seems he had his. 'My Manner 'was (says he) to allot one Month to 'each of these Employments; and 'Variety was almost as much refreshing 'as cessation from Labour. This Method I was constant to for 13 Years, 'until I was called off by my Secular 'Employments; and when I was discharged from them, I fell again to

B

'run

- ‘run round in my former Circle. . Over and above, he was an Exact Philosopher, especially in *Metaphysicks*, the Advantage and Use of which he defended publicly in the *Schools* when he was
- (13.) *Proctor* for the University. His Application to History presupposes his Knowledge in *Chronology* and *Geography*: And I will (says Bishop *Hacket*, a competent Judge) deliver it confidently, that I took him to be the best proficient in Ecclesiastical History of his Age.

His communicative
Temper.

- Ignorance is not so distasteful as a selfish Knowledge, joyn'd with the fear of making others as wise as our selves: and an honest Beggar's Character (we know) stands fairer in the Eye of the World, than that of a tenacious Miser. To possess and yet not to communicate is not the part of a Man, but of the Brute Beast, that has not reason to see the great Advantages of a mutual Benevolence. Our
- (15.) Student, that was in a manner a perfect Store-house of Learning, was open to all: His Temper communicative, and Discourse free. Which
- (16.) was so much the more acceptable, because he was remarkable for his
- Can-

Candour and Moderation, and far from shewing any dislike of a Scholar, that differ'd from him in a Theological Debate. Yet this Moderation of his was called by some Sluggishness, Craftiness, Neutrality, or any thing that might give it a bad Colour. As if the Spirit of Christianity were not consistent with a Disputant, and Rudeness were better at Syllogizing, than found Sense, which is an enemy to Passion: or as tho' (to speak with Bishop *Hacket*) in Points unfundamental and unresolv'd, every Man must be a *Guelph* or a *Gibelline*. (17.)

I have given you a short Scheme of his Studies, by the Prosecution of which he fitted himself for the high Employments in which we shall find him hereafter. And by his close Application this way too, he began to grow into considerable Repute and Esteem in the College. For, by that time he was 25 Years old, or thereabout, he had the Honour to be imploy'd by his Society in some concerns of theirs; by which means upon such occasions, he had admittance sometimes to speak before Arch-bishop *Bancroft*. And upon this Reverend

Is imploy'd in Business for his College.

Abb. Bancroft takes Notice of him.

The LIFE of ABp. Williams,

Prelate, what with his engaging Wit, and what with his decent Behaviour, he gain'd so far, that two Years before he was *Batchelour of Divinity*, he sent for him, and of his own free Will, gave him the Advouzon of an Arch-Deaconry in *Wales; Cardigan*, to the best of Bishop *Hacket's* Remembrance.

*Is sent to
Court by
the Fellows.*

(18.)
*The King
takes No-
tice of him.*

Another time the Master and Fellows, deputed him for their Agent to Court, to petition the King for a *Mort-Main*, thereby to bring an Increase to their Maintenance. In which Suit he sped; as indeed he did in most Undertakings, being of a ready Wit, and almost unwearied Diligence. Here it is worth Observation, the Notice the King took of him then, for there was I know not what in him, which his Majesty lik'd so well, that he told him of it long after, when he came to be his Principal Officer. These Employments were so many lucky Hits, as we may call them, and gave (no doubt) the first occasion to his future Advancement. For we may reason backward thus, and see the disposing Hand in all past Occurrences of Life; but when we come to look forward, the
very

very first Object terminates our sight, and we know not *What* will follow *What*; so many different Conclusions can Providence draw from any one Principle, and yet all just and equal.

Thus far have we brought our *Charge* safe through this troublesome World, and fenc'd off all Misfortunes. But to secure him wholly had been impossible, even for his *Guardian-Angel*. And the Reader will find he had his share of Troubles. One single One, like a random-shot in Battle, besel him at this Time, which wounded him to the very Soul: It was the Death of his Reverend Friend Dr. *Playfere*, in the Year 1608. This was a heavy Blow indeed for the first, and troubled Mr. *Williams* so much, that when he was requested to grace his Friend's Obsequies with a Speech, he urged his excessive Sorrow in Excuse. But by much importunity, he was at last prevail'd upon, to give that Sorrow a Vent; which he did in such an Eloquent and Moving Manner (as perhaps no Passion has the perswasive Force of Sorrow) that when he ended, and the Assembly brake up, every body said, that *Playfere's* Eloquence sur-

*His Friend
Dr. Play-
fere dies,
and he
makes his
Funeral
Speech.*

viv'd in his Friend. And he, tho' naturally covetous of a Good Name, yet, I dare say, thought his Reputation now too dearly bought.

*He takes
Orders:*

Happy and wise too is the Man, that knows how to make the right use of Misfortunes. We must call in the Assistance of *Religion* as well as *Philosophy*, ere we can convert them into Blessings. Thus Mr. *Williams*, after this, grew strangely indifferent to the World in all respects, except it were to be doing good in it. And the better to enable him to this (after humbly imploring the Divine Assistance) he gave himself over intirely to the Service of God, entring into Orders first as Deacon, then as Priest, in the 27 Year of his Life. After this, that he might not lye fallow, and be like the barren Ground, he took the Charge of a small Living, which lay beyond *St. Edmund's-Bury*, in the confines of *Norfolk*; *Fakenham* perhaps, or very near to it. A poor Bus'ness tho' it was, that would hardly defray the cost of his Journeys, yet it took not off his Edge, for it answered the great Ends for which he entred upon it; to teach the Simple, to attain to a readiness in
Preach:

(19.)
*And the
Charge of
a small
Living.*

Preaching, and to be acquainted with Compassion (as he us'd to say) towards the hard Condition which his poor Brethren did undergo, that had scarce enough to feed and keep them warm, for all their Labour. It seems he had a Liking for the People; for in his highest Honour, I heard him (says Bishop *Hacket*) treating with Sir *Lionel Talmach*, to imploy an hundred pound for him, to buy Land for the Relief of the Poor of that Village for ever.

In a poor Countrey Vicaridge he was to condescend to the Capacity of his People, least he might be to them as a *sounding Brass*, or a *tinkling Cymbal*. But at *St. Mary's in Cambridge*, where he had a Learned Auditory, our Preacher shew'd his great Skill *Anno 1610*, in a Discourse upon *Luc. 16, 22*. And about eight Months after, being lifted into the *Combination* of the choifest Preachers, he was called upon Duty, before King *James* and Prince *Henry* at *Royston*; where he acquitted himself so well, that his Majesty was pleased to speak much in his Commendation; and the Prince not content to let him go off with hungry Praise, looking upon him as an Honour to *Wales*,

*Preaches at
St. Mary's
in Cambr.*

*And before
the King at
Royston.*

assured him, that he would not be unmindful of his great Merits. But he dying untimely (if there be such a thing as an untimely Death) the Father bestow'd that Preferment on him, which the Son intended.

Lord Egerton takes him into his Service.

The Fame of our accomplish'd Preacher came at last to the Ears of the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*. And he wanted not Friends in that Family to recommend him; to whose Requests the Chancellor only reply'd, *Send for him, and let me have him*. This was at *Midsummer*, in the Year 1611. But when he came to *London* to wait upon his Lordship, after great and humble Acknowledgments of the Honour done him, he intreated, that he might have his Lordship's Consent, to continue one whole Year, or the greatest part of it, at *Cambridge*; because he was at *Michaelmas* following to be *Proctor* for the University, a Place of great Trust and Credit, and some Profit. At this the Chancellor asks him, if his place might not be supply'd by a Deputy? (20.) 'My Lord (replies the Chaplain) I must take an Oath upon my Admission into that Office, to oversee the Government intrusted to me, not
'in

‘in general Terms only of Faith and
 ‘Diligence, but for the due Provision
 ‘of many particular Branches of the
 ‘Statutes; and I dare not trust my
 ‘Oath with another Man’s Conscience.
 And he must be a hardy fellow, that
 dares, since every Man at long Run,
 is like to answer for himself. Who
 could refuse so fair a Plea? So he returns
 to *Cambridge*, where I must shew him
 in his Honour of *Proctorship*, before I
 proceed any farther with him.

His Reply to the Chancellor shews ^{Is Proctor} what strict Notions he had of the ^{in Cambr.} Greatness of his Charge; and he was
 too Honest to act short of his Con-
 science. To instance only in the
 Principal Duties of his Office; What
 care did he take to have the Publick
 Exercises duly perform’d? Insomuch
 that at the Afternoon Disputations of
 the *Under-Graduates*, he would mo-
 derate himself; by which means he
 had an opportunity to encourage the
 Hopeful and Deserving, inflaming
 some with his Praises, and inciting
 others with Rewards: for he was al-
 ways free of his Money, but especially
 upon such like Occasions. The *Night-*
Walks indeed he committed sometimes

to others; but he perceiv'd there never went more Authority with the *Staff*, than when he bore it himself. Tho' he reclaim'd several from their loose Courses, yet was he remarkable in this, that he never stigmatiz'd any one with a hard Censure. He knew very well that Affableness, Sweetness and soft Perswasions were more irresistible than Threats; as dealing with Scholars, and not Peasants. And it is but want of Discretion, to think when we are in Office, we may talk big by Authority, and lord it over Gentlemen of a Liberal Education, who have no Notion of Slavery, except it be to condemn it.

*The Duke
of Witten-
berg comes
to Cambr.*

Next to a conscientious discharge of one's Office, nothing so much credits an Officer, as when some remarkable occurrences happen during his Office. And two very signal ones gave our *Proctor* a very fair opportunity of shewing himself. Soon after *Christmas*, his Majesty sent his Commands to the *Heads* of the *University*, to give Entertainment, such as might be made ready out of hand, to the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and his Train. The Duke himself was a Learned Prince;

Prince: And it was therefore thought most suitable to entertain him with Philosophick Disputations; and so it was determin'd. Mr. *Proctor*, he sat as *Moderator*, and managed the Bus'ness with all the Skill and good Address imaginable. For, to compliment the Prince, he back'd all his Reasons with Quotations from *Julius Pacius*, *Goclenius*, *Keckerman* and others, that had been Professors within the German Principalities. Which was so highly acceptable to the Duke of *Wittenberg* and his Retinue, that they would not part with Mr. *Williams* from their Company, so long as they continued in *Cambridge*; and when they went away for *New-Market*, they took him along with them. So much is the manner of acting in all we do, and the right suiting of Things and Circumstances: which to perform free and unconstrain'd, is the Talent only of a ready Wit, and a sound Judgment; two important Qualifications, and rarely to be found in one and the same Person.

The next Passage is of another stamp, having more of the States-man, than the Scholar in it. The Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord

(21.)
Is very much taken with Mr. Williams.

The King displeas'd at the University,

Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of *Cambridge* dying, *May 24 An. 1612.* In the Regent House, the Masters of Arts it seems could not agree in the Choice of one to succeed him. The *Majority* gave their Voices for *Henry Earl of Northampton*, Lord Privy-Seal: T'other Party, that did not like him, they put up against him the King's Second Son, *Charles Duke of York*, tho' then but 12 Years old. At this the King was highly displeas'd, that they durst nominate his Son to any Place, before they had humbly crav'd his Royal Assent. And the Lord Privy-Seal, the Chancellor Elect (perceiving himself slighted) shrunk up his shoulders, and made Answer, *That he was not worthy the Honour they design'd him;* as who should say in plain *English*, *I scorn your Proffer.* Upon this, the *Heads* (considering that the Wrath of a Prince is not like that of a Private Man, to be quench'd by Delay) dispatch away *Proctor Williams* (who tho' he was but the *Junior Proctor*, yet was employ'd) to present himself with their Letters before the King, now in the Height of his Displeasure. So he came to the Court at *Greenwich*, and falling upon

Mr. Williams sent
to appease
the King.

upon his Knees before his Majesty, the King, with no pleas'd Countenance, demanded what his Bus'ness was. 'Sir (says he) My self and They who sent me, crave Justice of your Majesty, in behalf of your University of *Cambridge*, which suffers under your Displeasure, in that sort as I believe never any of your Subjects did before; that Nineteen Parts of a Great Incorporation should be condemn'd for the Frowardness (and that unpreventable by all the Power we had) of the Twentieth part, and they the meanest of us all. We beseech you, Gracious Sovereign, to name a Chancellor to preside over us, or suffer us to come to your Majesty upon all Occasions, as unto our Chancellor; not made so by the Suffrage of poor Scholars (you are far above that) but in the Sublime Title of your Kingly Office, by which you are oblig'd to protect all your People that are unprotected. The Speech Obtains his Suit. ended, the King gave the Petitioner his Hand to kiss; saying, He would pardon all that was past. So merciful was the King, and so perswasive was the humble Address of the *Proctor*.
More-

- (22.) Moreover, he added, That they themselves should have Power to choose their own Chancellor; for he would not rob them of their Right of Free-Election: that his farther Pleasure should be signified in his Letters, which came to *Cambridge* the same Day the *Proctor* did; and being open'd, the Orders were, *That they should forthwith call a Congregation, and resume an Election for a new Chancellor, and that his Majesty would constrain him to hold it, whoever it were, that the Congregation agreed upon.* Still the Heads continued in a Doubt what to do, because the King was not more particular: And here it far'd with Mr. *Williams* as it usually does with all that are imploy'd upon any Bus'ness; for they blam'd him for not founding the matter to the Bottom. But he, whose Wit was always true to him at a pinch, warded off their unreasonable Displeasure; by gathering much from a small Hint, which is the very Perfection of Policy. Certainly (says he) there is one Clause in the Royal Letters, that plainly determines our Votes; for no One hath declared a flat Refusal of this Place, but the Earl of *Northampton*:

*Explains
the King's
Letters to
the Heads
of the Uni-
versity.*

pton: Therefore no One else can be meant in this Passage, *That whomsoever we choose, the King will constrain him to hold it.* This Intricacy so happily unfolded, the Lord Privy-Seal was chosen. And the King confess'd they had nick'd his secret Meaning: yet not They, but Mr. *Proctor*; which deservedly gain'd him a deal of Credit.

There is one thing more which happen'd during his Office; but whether to his Praise or Dispraise, I cannot readily tell. A mixt Action it was, and discovers a great Beauty, shaded with a Blemish, like the Sun in an Eclipse. Dr. *Clayton* the Master of *St. John's College* dying, Dr. *Morton* (then Dean of *Windsor*, and afterward Bishop of *Durham*) and Mr. *Gwin* (one of the Senior Fellows) put in for the Mastership. Now Dr. *Morton* was a Man incomparable every way, and not only beyond Mr. *Gwin*, but almost all of his Time, for Piety and Learning. But for all this, his Interest amongst the Fellows (who all when they are Masters of Arts by Statute have a Vote in the Election of a Master) was but small in comparison to Mr. *Gwin's*; and so much the less considerably, because
Mr.

Dr. Gwin
made Ma-
ster of St.
John's Col-
lege by the
Interest of
Mr. Wil-
liams.

Mr. *Williams* appear'd against him. And as he was courting his Friends for Mr. *Gwin*, amongst others, he made suit to one Mr. *Senhouse* (afterward Bishop of *Carlisle*) who gave him this civil Denial: *Sir, if you desire my Voice to confer the Mastership upon your self, I will not deny you. I know you, tho' a young Man, right worthy of it; but your Tutor shall never have my Suffrage,* (23.) *while I can say No.* But yet Mr. *Williams* prevail'd so far with his Interest, that Mr. *Gwin*, who had formerly been his Tutor, was made Master. To excuse this is more than I can do; and there is but one way by which I can account for his Error, how a Man of his clear Judgment should fall into it. He was High-spirited almost to a Fault; and such Tempers (we know) are at best but very uneasie, when any One is before-hand with them in Obligations. And, no doubt, as a Pupil he thought in all Reason he ought not to be unmindful of his Tutor at such a Time. I need say no more, lest I prevent my Reader's Reflection: But this let me add, When Gratitude and Justice take contrary sides, doubtless in a generous Breast, the Conflict must needs

needs be very sharp. After he had given a Helping-hand to set Mr. *Gwin* over this Great Society, his Fortunes carried him from *College*; but he heard so much, that he was soon out of conceit with his own Work. For, there was at that time a meddling Fellow (Mr. *Gwin* loving his Ease) who monopoliz'd the whole Rule of the *College*, and imbroid'd matters at such a strange rate, that all Mr. *Williams* could do when he knew of this, was to repent heartily for what he had done. And he that will set himself out of the Power of his own Actions, and prevent all After-reckonings, had need be very cautious how he makes a *Compliment* of his *Conscience*. *He repents it after.*

Now the *Commencement* drew on. *A Splendid Commencement at Cambr.*
And the *Senior Proctor* either never having any polite Learning, or having outgrown what he had; the *Junior* was pitch'd upon to be the *Father of the Act*, as we call it. This *Commencement* (says Bishop *Hacket*) was as gay and full of Pomp, by the great Concourse of Nobles and Gentlemen, as ever I saw; most part of which the Acquaintance and Fame of the *Proctor* drew thither. All these he had the

C Honour

The Pro-
ctor's Li-
berality.

Honour (as is usual for the *Proctor*) to treat; which he did, not liberally, but profusely. For it was his Temper to be always at perfect enmity with Parsimony. It would have made you smile, to hear the *Prevaricator* in his jocular way, give him his Title and Character to his Face; *Titus Largius primus Dictator Romanorum*. I do not commend him for this Quality of his. It was excess of Generosity in him, to think Frugality was but a clownish Vertue at the best: tho' if ever Prodigality appears with a good Grace, it is certainly upon such publick Occasions.

(24.)

So now the Year, and the Bus'ness of it is over; and he returns to Chancellor *Egerton*. Yet before I settle him there for good and all, I must fetch him back once again. The King's only Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth* being married to *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, and Chief *Elect*or of the *Empire*, upon *Valentine's* Day, being the Fourteenth of *February* 1612. after the Celebration of the Nuptials was over at Court, the King had a mind, that his Son-in-law the *Elect*or should be receiv'd with an Academical

The Pall-
grave
comes to
Cambr.

Stow
Chron.

demical Entertainment at Cambridge. Notice being given to Dr. Carew the Vice-Chancellor, he with the Sages of the Consistory concluded, there should be a kind of *Commencement* Extraordinary. At this Time Mr. Williams had not been above 7 Months absent, so that being still fresh in the memory, and high in the good Opinion of the Doctors, he was pitch'd upon for one to oppose upon the *Theological Questions*. Mr. Williams sent for to assist in his Entertainment. Down they send for him out of hand: and that he might be duly qualified for an *Opponent*, they make him in all haste commence *Batchelor in Divinity*. Commences T.B. The Questions, which he gave in to defend for his Degree were, 1. *Peccata semel remissa nunquam redeunt*: 2. *Qui sacros Ordines susceperunt, famulari possunt Magnatibus ut fructus Ecclesiasticos percipiant*. In responding to which (in a manner *extempore*) he shew'd at once the Soundness of his Judgment, and the vast Compass of his Learning. But in the Opponent's Place, upon the Day appointed, on Mar. 13. 1612. he acquitted himself manfully, to the great Satisfaction of the Noble Assembly, and the very great

*Returns to
Lord Egerton.*

great Honour of the University. This done, he retired to his Home; for so I must now call the Lord Chancellor's Family. And thus I have brought him safe to the end of the first Stage of his Life: which was in a manner publicly lead, tho' in a private Capacity: For to conceal himself absolutely was more than he could do.

The End of the First Part.

From



*From the Time he settled in
Chancellor Egerton's Fa-
mily, till the End of King
James's Reign.*

PART II.

THE former Part has shew'd you *The Design*
Mr. *Williams* from his Child-^{of this}
hood to his Manhood: how *Part,*
hopeful he was in his Youth; and
how afterwards those Hopes exceeded
what they seem'd to promise: how
able he became in Learning; and how
creditable and useful a Member he was
of his College in particular, and of
the whole University in general. I
come in the next place to consider
him as a rising Man in the World;
how he made his Fortunes (as we un-
gratefully express our selves, when all
the while it is the *Lord's Doing*) and
how he behav'd himself in them after.

And that we may not confound Characters, I shall first give you an Account of him as a Statesman, and as concerned in Civil Affairs during his Prosperity, omitting for the present all that might belong to him as a Clergy Man.

*The means
by which
he gained
Lord Eger-
ton's Fa-
vour.*

(27.) Now or never was his time to look about him. For he had a very fair Opportunity given him, by entering into the Service of so considerable a Man as the Chancellor was, with the Assistance of Providence to raise himself; at leastwise to make some Efforts towards it. Therefore as a prudent Man, the first thing he cast in his Mind, was how he might ingratiate himself in the Family; but especially in his Lord's Favour, who he knew was able to reward him. There were at that time in the Family a great many Ladies, and those of Quality, to whom his Address and Behaviour, as well as his Garb, was more courtly than is usual with Scholars. He receiv'd all Strangers with great Courtesie and Civility. And if any Disorders happen'd amongst the Servants, he interpos'd with the Gravity of a Divine. Thus he had gain'd the Out-works; and

and thus far an indifferent Artist might have gone. But to make One's self acceptable to a Man of the Chancellor's Gravity and Judgment, shews something of the like Worth in One's self: So apt are we to be taken with our own Resemblance. The Chaplain therefore approv'd himself to his Lord, not only by his good Preaching, but likewise by the sharp and solid Answers he made to such Questions as were cast in by the By at Table, to fathom his Learning and Judgment. For to take a Man unprepar'd and off his Guard, even in little matters, tries his Strength more, than a formal Dispute docs, where Warning is given: As, we know, *Bills upon sight* are never drawn (at least to any purpose) but upon the ablest Men. But what recommended him more than all this was, that he understood the References and Petitions, that were sent to his Lord from *Oxford*, better then all his Servants, being newly come from *Cambridge*: And his Opinion was so constantly taken in all those Complaints, that Dr. King (the Bishop of *London*) would sometimes pleasantly call him the Chancellor of *Oxford*. To this,

he wars stor'd with Friends in the Courts of the King and Prince, from whom he gather'd Intelligence worth his Master's hearing; no *blind Rumours*, but *Clouds*, that at first rising were scarce so big as an Hand, yet portending mighty Tempests as they fell. Last-ly, to make him every way acceptable to his Lord, he had pick'd up some Gleanings (in his own modest words) in the Knowledge of the Common-Laws of the Realm. In this the Chancellor gave him Incouragement to proceed; and was so taken with him, that at his leisure hours, both to divert himself and instruct his Chaplain he would impart to him the Narration of some important Causes, that had been debated in *Chancery* or *Star-Chamber*. So fortunate was Mr. *Williams* to fall under such a Tutor as instructed him in that Bus'ness, to which it pleas'd God after to call him. But neither did he for all this neglect his Studies as a Divine: and Resolution and Diligence carried him through all.

(29.)
He encour-
rages Me-
rit, and de-
fends the
injured
Clergy.

And now he was so far in his Lord's Favour, that he was able by his Interest to procure several Livings that
fell

fell into the Chancellor's Presentation, for such as he knew to be able and deserving Scholars; so early did he patronize Merit. And he gave farther Evidences yet of his publick Spirit, when swarms of Scholars came about him, such as were harass'd with tedious and chargeable Law-Suits. If their Cause were good, or if it had a Flaw in it, he would point it out; would shew them where lay the Strength, and where the Weakness; would commend them to faithful Attorneys and able Counsel, work the Officers to an Abatement of Fees, and supply them with Money that wanted it. Especially if the Cause concern'd the Title of their Living, or the payment of their Tithes, he would sweat and bestir himself for his poor Brethren to the utmost of his Vigour. So that under his Lord and Master, he was a zealous and successful Abettor of the Rights of the Clergy in general.

To study the Interest of others so earnestly as wholly to neglect our own, may rather be call'd Simplicity than Honesty; and might sound prettily in a Romance, where Honour is Meat, Drink and Cloathing. But certainly, as the World goes, to trust to the Genero-

Makes his own Interest, so that the Lord Egerton prefers him.

sity of others when we may befriend our selves, is more than is requir'd at our Hands, and much more than Prudence will account for. Therefore Mr. *Williams*, tho' very mindful of others, was not at the same time unmindful of himself; but grounded himself so deep in his Lordship's Affections, that in about five Years Time (which he liv'd with him) he rais'd himself a plentiful Fortune by the Assistance of that Bounty, which was so far from denying him any thing, that it commonly prevented his Requests; the Politick way of enhancing a Benefit without cost: for a modest and generous Person thinks he pays dear for what he is forced to ask for. But, to be particular, his Patron gave him the Parsonage of *Walgrave* in *Northamptonshire*, and by his Interest got him the Rectory of *Grafton Under-wood*, in the same County. He was a Prebendary of the Church of *Lincoln*, and Residentiary, with the

(30.) Chantorship of the same; he had a Prebend too in the Minster of *Peterborough*, and in the Churches of *Hereford* and *St. David's*: and to these, the Chancellor gave him a *Sine-Cure* in *Wales*, equal in profits to any of his other

other Preferments. By this time I expect my Reader should cry out, Bless me! what a Glut of Preferment is here for one Man! So jealous are we of our own Interest. But when Plenty falls into the possession of a free Heart, 'tis a great Mistake to think we are injur'd, and that too much flows to One. Do we grudge the Sea all those almost infinite Waters, that are perpetually emptying themselves into it? And the reason is, because we know they lye safe there, as in a common Store-house, ready to supply all places that may want. And what Riches fall into a publick Hand, are not his alone, but Every-body's; and all that is proper to him is the great Satisfaction only of Distribution.

In the Year 1616. in *October*, the Lord Chancellor, worn out, what with the multitude of Bus'ness, and what with Age, began to decline. And in *January* his Weakness prevail'd more, insomuch that from that time he admitted scarce any Company, but his Chaplain's. What Bus'ness he had with his Majesty, was committed to his Trust and Management:

The LIFE of ABp. Williams,

a very considerable Opportunity, which doubtless Mr. *Williams* improv'd to his own Advantage. The King could not but take Notice of him as often as he brought any Messages to him from his Master: and to be intrusted by so discreet a Man with Secrets of State, was no small Credit to him. And his Majesty thought, that living so long with so great a Statesman, he could not choose but gain considerable Experience himself in such Affairs. These things put together, and added to some advantagious *Hints*, tending this way before, shew like so many *Incidents* well prepar'd, to render his following Advancement more probable: from which the Reader will be able to see, by what Degrees his good Fortune usher'd him into the Court, and at last rais'd him to the greatest Dignities.

Dies.

Wilfon.

Hist. Gr.

Brit. p. 97.

On the Fifteenth of *March*, his Great and Good Patron dy'd in a *Good Old Age, and full of Vertuous Fame*. His Chaplain mourn'd for him long after, and attended his Body to *Cheshire*, where he buried him in a Chappel with his Ancestors.

A

A little before the Day of his Death, the Chancellor call'd Mr. *Williams*, and told him, *That if he wanted Money, he would leave him such a Legacy in his Will, as should furnish him to begin the World like a Gentleman.* Sir (says the Chaplain) *I kiss your Hands; you have fill'd my Cup full; I am far from want, unless it be of your Lordship's Directions how to live in the World, if I survive you.* Well (says the Chancellor) *I know you are an expert Workman; take these Tools to work with, they are the best I have.* So he gave him some Books and Papers written all with his own Hand.

Dr. *Hacket* says, he saw the Notes; and that they were that old Sage's Collections for the well Ordering the High Court of *Parliament*, the Court of *Chancery*, the *Star-Chamber*, and the *Council-Board*. So that he had a good Stock to set up with; insomuch that Dr. *Hacket* does not doubt but that the Marrow of Mr. *Williams* his Politicks, was drawn from the Lord *Egerton's* Papers.

The Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, when he grew weak, had desir'd Leave of his Majesty, to retire, and to have time

(31.)
He gave him four Books (says Da. Lloyd, in his Life of the ABp) which he presented after to the King.

Cabal. pag. 236.
Wilfon Hist. Gr. Brit. p. 97.

Sir Fr. Bacon made
L. Keeper.

Mr. Williams re-
fuses to be
his Chap-
lain.

time to see how Accounts stood between God and himself. Which being granted him, the Great Seal of *England* was next deliver'd to Sir *Francis Bacon*, on the Seventh of *March* (according to *Stow*) *An. 1616*. He hearing that Mr. *Williams*, after the Death of his Master, was preparing to go to his Cure at *Walgrave*, he made him a very civil Offer to continue with him in that Place, wherein he had serv'd the Lord *Egerton* before. He declin'd it tho', but in such an artful and obliging manner, that *Bacon* did not at all resent it; for they parted very good Friends; and Sir *Francis* willing to set a Mark of his Favour upon him, made him Justice of the Peace and of the *Quorum* in *Northamptonshire*. What should be the reason, why Mr. *Williams*, a Man that lov'd to be in the Eye of the Publick, should refuse this Offer, I can't imagine. Whether he were tired of the City, or whether he saw so far into *Bacon*, as that he was not like to continue long undisgrac'd; or lastly, whether his better *Genius* prompted him: For, 'tis very likely, had he been his Chaplain, he would hardly have succeeded

ceeded him in his Office, tho' he might;
at least so creditably he could not:
Because the World, that ever searches
deep into the worst side of things,
would have been apt to cry out, that
the Servant had undermin'd his Lord.

At this time by the Interest of his *Is made*
very good Friend Dr. *James Montagu* *Chaplain*
(after Bishop of *Winton*) he was made *in Ordinary*
Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty *to the King.*
attending Yearly at Court in *February*.
And he had his Majesty's Orders to
wait upon him in his Great *Northern*
Progress, which was to begin in *April*
following: And the King told him
pleasantly, *That he might expect the*
Labourers Penny as soon as they that
had serv'd him longer. But the Bishop
of *Winchester* obtain'd of his Majesty,
that Mr. *Williams* might stay behind,
to take his Doctor's Degree, and to
give fit entertainment to *Marcus An-*
tonius de Dominis Archbishop of *Spa-*
lato, who was newly come over into
England, and did design to be at *Cam-*
bridge Commencement, in the next *July*.
Here again we may see how Fortune
seem'd to Compliment Mr. *Williams*
with an Opportunity of shewing him-
self: And he never was to appear any
way

(32.)
Takes his
Doctors
Degree.

way publickly at *Cambridge*, but still he brought something about luckily to add to the Splendour of his Performance. So at this *Commencement* in the Year 1617. he was created Doctor. The Questions which he maintain'd for his Degree were, 1. *Supremus Magistratus non est excommunicabilis.* 2. *Subductio Calicis est mutilatio Sacramenti & Sacerdotii.* You will, I make no doubt, prevent me here, and guess that his Treat (as is the Custom of the University upon such occasions) was very costly and sumptuous: but one piece of Address I must not forget; how that the Doctor was at no little cost and pains in sending to the *Italian* Ordinaries at *London*, and ransacking the Merchants Stores, for such Delicacies as he thought would relish best with the Archbishop of *Spalato*: which Dainties it was observ'd that he never took any Notice of, but preferr'd our *English* Dishes to them.

Retires to
Walgrave.

And now Dr. *Williams* having acquitted himself honourably both as to his *Act*, and to the Entertainment he gave to the Archbishop; he retired chearfully to his Rectory of *Walgrave*. How he lived, and what he did there,

I shall forbear to mention, till I come to speak of him as a Clergy-man. So that at present I will not break the Thread of my Narration, but go on with him directly in his growing Fortunes, till the End of King *James's* Reign.

In the Year 1619. he preach'd before the King at *Theobalds*; his Text taken out of *Matth. 11. 8.* His Majesty approving of the Sermon, commanded it to be printed. So that by several Offices and frequent Opportunities, he had now gain'd his Majesty's good Liking. During the time he was at *Walgrave*, the Deanery of *Salisbury* fell by the Death of Dr. *Gordon*, while the King was in his Summer's Progress in the *West*. A great many stirr'd for it; and for one of the Competitors, and a deserving Scholar too, the Marquess of *Buckingham* us'd his Interest; but the King putting them all by, sent for Dr. *Williams*, who could not be heard of in a fortnight, keeping then his Residence at *Lincoln*, remote from Court. This was the first piece of Preferment for which he was not beholding to any, saving the King's own Pleasure; for he had not at that time

(35.)
Preaches
before the
King at
Theobalds

(36.)

Is made
Dean of
Salisbury.

so much as a Friend to intercede for him; Death having rob'd him of Dr. *Montagu*, the only Man about his Majesty that he depended upon.

(38.)
Buckingham the
King's Fa-
vourite.

Thus we have pass'd over the Beginning or Dawning (as we may call it) of his good Fortune; and he is (you see) in a very likely way of *Doing well*, as we say when a Man thrives in the World; as tho' Prosperity and Probity were one and the same. Tho' Dr. *Williams* was now in great Favour with his Majesty, and he lov'd him better than even the Lord *Egerton* had done; yet if he had any Designs of advancing himself, it must be effected by that Grand Favourite the Marquess of *Buckingham*, or not at all. No Man can be so ignorant of the History of those Times, as not to know that he over-rul'd all the King's Affections, and dispos'd of all things for him, even to his very Smiles and his Frowns.

(41.)

It fell out one time, that the Dr. was at *Royston*, attending upon his Majesty, in the Absence of the Marquess. The King abruptly (without any relation to the Discourse then in hand) ask'd him, when he was with *Buckingham*? Sir (says the Dr.) *I have had*

no Business to resort to his Lordship:
 But (replies the King) *wheresoever he is, you must presently go to him on my Message.* Which he did accordingly; and the Marquess receiving him courteously, invited him with all Affability to come freely to him upon his own Addresses. He gathering from the Hint ^{Williams} his Majesty gave him, that he intended ^{applies himself to him:} he should seek the Marquess, and do all he could to gain him by all Observation, from thenceforth resolv'd it.

But why must the Dr. be prompted by the King to seek his own Interest? Were not his Eyes open at that time of Day, and could he not see plainly, ^{His Reasons why he did it not before.} without having it pointed out to him, that *Buckingham* was the King's Darling? Or did he know all this, but yet wanted Ambition to climb? No; Dr. *Williams* was a Man, tho' bold and aspiring, yet cautious withall: and you shall hear what dissuaded him from courting the Marquess. One time (says *Bishop Hacket*) making a Repetition of his former Life to me, when he was under a great Sickness at *Bugden*, he gave me two Reasons, why he mov'd so slow to the Protection of that great Lord. First, he mightily suspected his

(39.)

(40.)

continuance; the Title of a Favourite being so inauspicious in almost all Examples. And to whom a Man is oblig'd for his Rising, it is expected he should follow his Fortunes, be they good or bad: at least every grateful and generous Spirit will think himself oblig'd to do so. Secondly; he saw his Lordship was very apt to cast a Cloud suddenly upon his Creatures; and rais'd them, as it were, on purpose to have the Pleasure of casting them down after. And from these two weighty Considerations he concluded to give way to others, to seek the Marquess, that might be rash enough to venture. And happy sure had it been for him, had the King's Encouragement never diverted him from his own prudent Resolutions; for it led him through much Prosperity to a great deal of Adversity, and Misery in the End. So true is it, That in any thing we undertake, we cannot so much as guess what will be the final Issue of it: and the safest way the most prudent Man can take, to establish his Happiness (like the wise Man's House upon the Rock) is, after his own honest Endeavours, to be very well content to leave

leave the Determining cast to the All-wise Disposal of Providence: so much of the *Stoick* ought every *Christian* to have.

But to proceed: It happen'd well for him at this time to shew his Services, that the Marquess courted the Lady *Katherine Manners*, Daughter and only Child surviving to *Francis Earl of Rutland*. *Wilson* gives us this Account of the Matter: *Buckingham* (who was a general Lover) tempts the Earl's only Daughter, carries her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, keeps her there for some time, and then returns her again to her Father: At this the stout old Earl resolves upon Revenge, except he would marry his Daughter, to save her injur'd Honour. *Buckingham* (that perhaps made it his Design to get the Father's Consent this way, she being the greatest Match in the Kingdom) marries her; after which she was converted to our Church by Dr. *White*: Thus he. Which in the former part of the Story seems to have something of Truth; if compar'd with Bishop *Hacket's* Relation. Which is, That the motion being set on foot in the beginning of the Year 1620. was

(41.)
Buckingham courts
Kat. Manners.

History of
Gr. Brit.
p. 149.

Dr. Wil-
liams for-
wards the
Match.

(42.)

retarded, by reason of an Affront the Earl took, in thinking that the lusty Woer made his Advances too fast. But however it was, the Earl (it seems) was angry, and the Duke, he had a mind to the Lady. Therefore Dr. *Williams* took the Opportunity to go between the great Men, to set matters straight on both sides. Now the Earl had a good Opinion of the Dr. for some former Services, and was therefore willing to admit him to discourse the Point fairly. To cut it short, the Dr. brought the Earl about so dextrously with his Art and pleasant Wit, that his Lordship put it into his Hands to draw up all Contract and Conditions for Portion and Jointure. And now the Earl being open-hearted with the Joy and Transport of a good Understanding between him and the Marquess; the Dr. nicks the Opportunity, and prevails upon him to settle more upon the Marriage, than the Marquess and his Mother had demanded. Now the Parties were agreed, his Majesty put in his Objection, which must be answer'd, before he would give his Consent. The Lady *Katherine* had been bred a *Papist*; and he thought he

he could not be too cautious, as times went, how his great Favourite wedded with one of that Perswasion, lest it should raise Jealousies amongst his People. Therefore the King lays his Commands upon Dr. *Williams* to convert her, or no Wedding should be by his Consent. The Dr. undertakes and performs the Task: so that on the 16th of *May* 1620. the Nuptials were celebrated. And the Negotiation of this Match (says Bishop *Hacket*) the Negotiator told me, was the last Key-Stone, that made the Arch in his Pre-ferment. But lest this new Convert should slide back into her former Errors, the King orders Dr. *Williams* to draw up the Elements of Orthodox Religion in a little Manual for her use; which accordingly he did, and just Twenty Copies were printed with no Name, only *By an old Prebend of Windsor*. The following Letter (since one of the Copies is not easie to be had) sent to the Marquess with the Book, will be sufficient to inform the Curious of his Method and Design in that little Piece.

*Converts
the Lady:
and writes
a little
Treatise to
confirm
her.*

(43.)

My most Noble Lord,

*His Letter
to the Mar-
quess sent
with the
Treatise,*

MY most humble Duty and all
due Respects remember'd; I
have at last, according to his Maje-
sty's Intimation and your Lordship's,
made up for my Lady's private use
a little Stock, as it were, in Divinity,
and divided the same into Three small
Treatises. The First, to furnish her
how to speak unto GOD by Invoca-
tion: the Second, how to speak unto
her self by Meditation: and the
Third, how to speak unto those Ro-
manists, that shall oppose her, by way
of Answer, and Satisfaction. Prayers
are the most necessary for the obtain-
ing, Principles for the augmenting, and
Resolutions (in these Days) for the
defending of her Faith and Profession.
I held these Three in some sort (and
more I held not) to have been ne-
cessary. The Prayers I have trans-
lated from Ancient Writers, that her
Ladiship may see, we have not coin'd
a new Worship or Service of GOD.
Of the rest, I receiv'd my best
Grounds from his Majesty, and such
as, I protest faithfully, I never could
read the like in any Author for my
own

'own Satisfaction. If I be out in my
 'Descant upon them, I hope your
 'Lordship will the rather pardon it,
 'because the Book is but private,
 'whercof 20 Copies only are printed,
 'and as many of them to be suppress'd
 'as your Honour shall not command
 'and use. I make bold to send these
 'Books to your Lordship, because I
 'hope they will be more welcome and
 'acceptable to both the great Ladies,
 'coming immediately from your Ho-
 'nour, I humbly thank your Ho-
 'nour for affording me this Occasion,
 'to do your Lordship any little Ser-
 'vice, who am in all affectionate Prayers
 'and best Devotion

Your Honour's true Creature
 and Beadsman,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

From your College at Westminster
 the 28. of Novemb. 1620.

By the Date of this Letter, you may *Is made*
 understand (which I had forgot to tell *Dean of*
 you before) he was by this time made *Westmin-*
 Dean of *ster.* *(44.)* It was on the
 12th of July 1620. that he was Install'd;

D 5

the

the Marquess bestowing it upon him, who at that time was Patron of it, whom the Doctor solicited for it, by the following Letter, dated *Mar. 12. 1619.*

My most Noble Lord,

*His Letter
to petition
for the
Deanery.*

I Am an humble Suitor; first, to be
acknowledg'd your Servant; and
then, that I may be nearer and better
able to perform my Desires, to be by
your happy Hand transplanted from
Salisbury to Westminster, if that Deane-
ry shall prove vacant. I trouble not
your Honour for Profit, but only for
Conveniency; for being unmarried,
and inclining so to continue, I do find
that *Westminster* is fitter by much for
that Disposition: and mine own, no-
thing inferior in Value, will be at his
Majesty's Collation. If your Ho-
nour be not bent upon an ancients
Servant, I beseech you think upon
me. I am true, and so reputed by
my former, and by the Grace of God
will prove no otherwise, to my Second
Master. God in Heaven bless you as
he hath begun: he prays it, who is

*Your Honour's poor Beadsman al-
ready ever bound,*

J. W.

His

His Removal into this Deanery was the trueſt Step he had taken as yet: For within a Year after, the Lodgings of the Dean became the Houſe of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Palace of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Now the Scene fills, and the Plot thickens apace, (to ſpeak with our Play-wrights, ſince I am repreſenting a Life) *Incidents* begin to turn thick upon one another, and we ſhall ſoon launch him into ſuch an Ocean of Buſineſs, that it will be difficult for us to carry on our Story, without being loſt in Confuſion. But yet, why may not we relate as methodically and clearly as he acted, notwithstanding the multiplicity of Affairs with which he was ſurrounded, but not incumber'd? The Occaſion of his ſudden Riſing afforded ample Matter for Wonder, becauſe known but to few. And for an Introduction, to clear the way to my Reader, I muſt touch at ſome Paſſages in thoſe Times, which are ſufficiently known to every one.

*This Pre-
ferment
lucky to
him.*
(47.)

The Parliament held in the Year 1613. and the King could by no means hit it. They clamour'd againſt his Ma- jeſty, and buzz'd it about in the Ears of

(48.)

*K. calls a
Parlia-
ment An.
1620.*

(49.)

*They re-
dress Grie-
vances.*

of the People, That his Majesty wink'd at the Increase of *Popery*: upon this, the K. in a disgust dissolves them, and desir'd no more of their Company for 7 Years after. At last, what with the want of Money and other Reasons of State pressing, he resolves to try them once more; and so on the 30th of *Jan.* 1620. he with the Lords and Commons met in the High Court of Parliament. Their Demeanour to his Majesty was (as becom'd Subjects) dutiful and full of Respect. But they were resolv'd to fall foul upon some Persons, who, they thought, had more regard in their Practices to their own private Interest, than to the common Good of the People. It seems the Lord Marquess and the Chancellor were both at this time in Fault; the one by interceding for, and the other by granting Commissions for Monopolies, and other Grievances. The Appeals of the Subject for Justice were very loud in Parliament, but especially against Sir Gyles Mompeyson, Sir Francis Michel, and Sir Edward Villers (Half-Brother to the Marquess) who, tho' innocent in himself, was yet unwittingly trick'd by some crafty Merchants, into a piece of
Kna-

Knavery. They that were accus'd, *Some that were in danger, try to get it dissolved.*
 with a great many others that expected every hour to be in the same pickle, could invent no other way to escape, but by poisoning the King with an ill Opinion of the Parliament, and so to get them dissolv'd. To this Intent, they terrify the Marquess, who (as was said) had a Hand in these Things, that were so much resented: they insinuate, 'That it was high time for him to look 'about him; considering that the King 'had (as was noted) at the Opening 'of the Session given Incouragement 'to the Parliament to redress Grievances, and had said openly before all 'the Members, *Spare none, where you find just Cause to punish.* And if the *Frankl. Annals, p. 52.*
 'Two Houses should sit a whole Year, 'the greatest Advantage that could be 'hop'd for from them, would be but 'Two or Three Subsidies at the most; 'and that it were better for the King 'to gather such a Sum or greater by 'his Prerogative, tho' it be a little out 'of the way, than to wait for the Exhibition of a little Money, which will 'cost dishonour in the End, and the 'ruin of his most Loyal and Faithful 'Subjects.

These

*The Mar-
ques at a
lofs what
to do, till
the Dean
advise'd
him.*

These Jealousies disturb the King, and haunt my Lord *Buckingham* with all the Terrors and dismal Apprehensions imaginable, till the Dean of *Westminster* with his seasonable Advice dispell'd the Gloom, and brought Things to a clear Light; Who address'd himself thus to the Marquess, (as Bishop *Hacket* found it in a Breviate of his own Hand-writing) 'That there was 'no reason to quarrel with the Parliament for tracing Delinquents; that 'they deserv'd Praise for their Justice, 'as well as for their Civil Behaviour 'towards the King. But your Lordship (continues he) is jealous, that if 'the Parliament holds long in Favour, 'you may be brought into Question. 'Follow this Parliament in their Undertakings, and you may prevent all: (50.) 'Swim with the Tide, and there's no 'danger of drowning. They will be 'glad of your Favour to assist them. 'And trust me, and your other Servants, that have some credit with the 'most active Members, to keep you 'clear from the Strife of Tongues. 'But if you assist to break up this Parliament, now in pursuit of Justice, 'only to save Villains; you will pluck 'up

'up a Sluce, which will overwhelm
 'your self. The King will find it
 'a great Disservice before one Year
 'expire. This is Negative Counsell: I
 'will now spread Affirmative Proposals
 'before your Honour, which I have
 'studied and considered. Delay not
 'one Day, before you give your Bro-
 'ther Sir *Edward* a Commission for
 'an Embassage to some of the Princes
 'of *Germany*, or the *North-Lands*,
 'and dispatch him over the Seas, be-
 'fore he be miss'd. Those empty Fel-
 'dows, Sir *G. Mompeffon* and Sir *Fr.*
 '*Michel*, let them be made Victims to
 'the publick Wrath. Nay, my Sen-
 'tence is, destroy all Monopolies, and
 'Patents of griping Projections. I have
 'search'd the Signet-Office, and have
 'collected almost Forty, which I have
 'hung in one Bracelet, and are fit for
 'Revocation. Damn all these in one
 'Proclamation, and your Lordship will
 'partake of the Applause together
 'with his Majesty. This will con-
 'vince the People that you do not ap-
 'prove of what you acted under a Mis-
 'representation of things, when you
 'were but new-blossom'd in Court,
 'and could not discover the Deformity
 'that

Frankl.
Annals, p.
 52.

‘that lay hid. And God forbid, the
 ‘King should be incited to Collecti-
 ‘ons of Aid, without the Concur-
 ‘rence of his Parliament. An *English-*
 ‘*man’s* Tribute comes not from the
 ‘King’s Exaction, but by the People’s
 ‘free Oblation out of the Mouth of
 ‘their Representatives.

*The Marq.
 thanks him
 for his Ad-
 vice; and
 the King
 approving
 of it, makes
 him Privy-
 Counsellor.*

(51.)

These were the Dean’s Instructions; for which the Marquess returning him Thanks, said, That hereafter, he would use no other Counsellor to ease him at a pinch: and well had it been for the Dean had he continued as good as his Word. Upon this they go both together, and present these Proposals to the King; who approving highly of them, Things were transacted accordingly. And doubtless this piece of State-Wisdom, by which the Dean gave so masterly a stroke of his Skill, recommended him to the Honour soon after confer’d upon him. For the King finding him to be a Man of sound Wisdom, and of a stanch Judgment, he made him one of his Privy Counsellors; into which Office he was sworn on the 18th of *June* 1621.

*Stow’s
 Chron.*

This

This Parliament, wearied with long sitting, was prorogued from the 27th of *March*, to the 18th of *April*. The Marques had a Design in it; thinking that this Interval would give them time to cool, and that it might mitigate the Displeasure of Both Houses, which at that time was very strong against the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*. But he was out in his Politicks, it seems; for Accusations, like Malice, grow more inveterate by delay, and Time discovers new Circumstances, instead of wearing out the old. So the Leisure of three Weeks multiplied a pile of fresh Suggestions against him, and nothing was presaged more certain than his Ruin: and accordingly being accus'd of *Bribery*, the Great Seal was taken from him on the third of *May*. Thus fell this Great Man: a Thing (considering the rest of his Character) almost incredible, were it not vouch'd by the universal Consent of the Histories of those Times.

The Courtiers, you may be sure, a great many of them were scrambling for the Place. And the most likely to get it was one Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, then Master of the Court of Wards. But

E

the

The Parliament is prorogu'd.

Bacon is depos'd.

The Keeper's Place much sought for.

the King, before he would dispose of it, had set *Buckingham* to enquire what the profits of it might amount to in Justice, and whether certain perquisites were natural to it, which some had a great mind to cut off. Sir *Lionel* intreats the Lord Marquess to be quick, and to advise concerning the Matter with the Dean of *Westminster*, a sound and a ready Man, who was not wont to clap the *Shackles of Delay upon a Bus'ness*. So, he being spoke to, to draw up in Writing what he thought of the Matter, he return'd a speedy Answer on the 10th of *May*, in these Words.

The Dean's
Account
of the Re-
venues of
that Office.

My most Noble Lord,

‘ **A** Ltho’ the more I examine my self,
‘ the more unable I am made, to
‘ my own Judgment, to wade through
‘ any part of that great Imployment,
‘ which your Honour vouchsafed to
‘ confer with me about; yet because I
‘ was bred under the Place, and that I am
‘ credibly inform’d, my true and Noble
‘ Friend the *Master of the Wards*, is
‘ willing to accept it (and if it be so,
‘ I hope your Lordship will incline that
‘ way) I do crave Leave to acquaint
‘ your

‘your Honour, by way of prevention,
 ‘with secret Underminings, which will
 ‘utterly overthrow all that Office, and
 ‘make it beggarly and contemptible.
 ‘The lawful Revenue of that Office
 ‘stands thus, or not much above, at
 ‘any time. In Fines certain 1300 *l.*
 ‘*per An.* or thereabout. In Fines Ca-
 ‘sual 1250 *l.* or thereabout. In greater
 ‘Writs 140. *l.* For Impost of Wine
 ‘100 *l.* In all 2790. And these are all
 ‘the true Means of that Great Office.

Away runs the Lord Marquess with
 this Paper, and some other Informa-
 tions of the Dean’s, and presents them
 to his Majesty, when the Ink was scarce
 dry: upon which the King, having
 perus’d the Paper, bolted out these
 unexpected Words, *You name divers
 to me to be my Chancellor.* The Mar-
 quess pleas’d and surpriz’d at once, re-
 plies *ex tempore*, Sir, I am a Suitor for
 none, but for him that is so capable in
 your great Judgment. Be you satisfied
 then (says the King) I think I shall
 seek no farther. At this Buckingham
 impotent to contain his Joy, sends a
 blind Message to the Dean immediately,
 That the King had a Preferment in
 the Deck for him. He, ignorant of

*The Mar-
 quess shews
 it to the
 King, who
 pitches on
 the Dean
 for that
 Office..*

Cabal. p.
409.

P. 138.
139.

The Dean
is sworn L.
Keeper.

what had pass'd, mistook the Message, guessing it might relate to the Bishoprick of *London*, now void by the Death of *Dr. King*, in prospect of which he had been a Suitor before. Thus in speaking for another, he sped for himself. This is the very Manner faithfully related, how this Preheminency dropt upon him, that never dreamt of it. And this Account, which I have taken from Bishop *Hacket*, of *Dr. Williams* his Advancement, first to the Deanery of *Westminster*, secondly to be Privy-Counsellor, and lastly to be Lord Keeper; as it discovers nothing in it of dishonourable Proceedings, so is it in it self very probable, and has, besides that, the Authority and Word of a worthy Prelate to strengthen and confirm it, and consequently to discredit the uncharitable Surmises made by Sir *A. W.* concerning the causes of his Rising; which I shall not trouble my self to transcribe here, but rather choose to refer my Reader to the Pamphlet it self, if he thinks it worth his while.

But I go on. On the 10th of *July* 1621. he was sworn Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*. And when the

the Seal was on that Day actually deliver'd to him at *Whitehall*, he made a Speech to the King, in the Audience of all the Lords of the Council; which because it is but short, I will transcribe.

(61.)
Rushw.
Hist. Coll.
part 1. p.
36.

Most Dread and Mighty Sovereign, Makes a
Speech.

IF I should think my self any way
‘worthy or sufficient for this Great
‘Place, wherein your Majesty is pleas’d
‘to make Probation of me, I were the
‘most unworthy and insufficient wretch
‘in all the World. But in good Faith
‘I do not: But as conscious of my
‘own Unworthiness, I am quite asto-
‘nish’d at your Favour and Goodness.
‘I do not therefore trouble my Head
‘to find out the Reasons of this Ad-
‘vancement, because I take it for no
‘Ordinary Effect, but an Extraordinary
‘Miracle. *Deus, & qui Deo proximus*
‘*tacito munera dispertit arbitrariò, &*
‘*beneficiorum suorum indignatus per ho-*
‘*mines stare judicium, mavult de sub-*
‘*ditis dedisse Miraculum.* I must only
‘lift up mine Eyes unto Heaven, and
‘beseech that God, who some Ten
‘Years since brought me like *Elisba* to
‘be Servant only unto that *Elias*, who
‘under God and your Majesty was
E 3 ‘the

The LIFE of ABp. Williams,

'the Chariot and Horsemen of our
 'Israel, that now he would be pleas'd
 'to double the Spirit of *Elias* upon his
 'Servant *Elisba*, whom your Majesty
 'hath invested with his Robe and Man-
 'tle. And for my especial Direction,
 'I will take up that Counsel which
 'Pliny gave his Friend *Maximus*,
 'newly elected *Prætor* for *Achaia*, *Me-*
 '*minisse oportet Officii Titulum*; I will
 'never forget my Office and Title: I
 'am design'd to be a Probationer in
 'this Place, and as a Probationer by
 'God's Grace I will demean my self;
 'I will take up together with this Seal
 'that Industry, Integrity and Modesty,
 '*Non ut me Consulem, sed ut Consulatus*
 '*candidatum putem*. That is, I will not
 'esteem my self a Keeper, but a Suitor
 'only for the Great Seal. And if I
 'feel the burden too heavy, (which I
 'mightily fear and suspect) I will choose
 'rather *Desinere quàm Descere*, to slip
 'it off willingly to some stronger Shoul-
 'der, than to be crush'd in pieces with
 'the poise of the same. And I humbly
 'beseech your Majesty also to remem-
 'ber, I am no more than a meer Pro-
 'bationer. If I prove raw at first, I
 'must have time to learn. The best of
 'them

(59.)
People surpriz'd at his
Advancement.

Court and
Ch. p. 140.
The Seal
formerly in
the Hands
of the Clergy.
Sanderfon
Hist. of K.
James, l. 2.
p. 504.

P. 505.

confident he would not deceive his Judgment. When it had taken Air, that this great Preferment was like to be confer'd upon the Doctor, People began to talk, every one as his Interest or Affections prompted him. Some would not believe it, and cry'd it was impossible, so strange a thing should be; others said it was no Novelty, but an old Custom renew'd, and, God give him Joy of his Office: And the Lawyers, they fretted to have such a Flower pull'd out of their Garland. But why out of Theirs? 'Did they not know that the Father of the late Chancellor receiv'd the Seal from a Bishop, as well as it came from the Son to a Bishop again? Were they ignorant how former Ages held it more consonant to Reason, to trust the Conscience of the Clergy with the Case of Lay-men, they being best able to judge of a Case of Conscience; and 'anciently the Civil Laws were adjudged by the Ministers of the Church; 'and the *Chancery* and other Courts of Equity, then in the Charge of a Divine Minister. And had K. James liv'd to have effected his Desires, the Clergy had fix'd firm footing in Courts

‘Courts of Judicature, out of the road
‘of the Common-Law: and this was
‘the Reason of Dr. *Williams* his first
‘Initiation to this Office.

But to wrangle no longer with the
Lawyers: Since the Dean was to be
the Man, and since Promotion to any
Dignity will draw Envy more or less
upon any Man, but especially upon
one, whose sudden Advancement sur-
prizes People; let us see what Methods
the Dean took to soften the harshness of
Censure, and to qualify Envy as much
as possible; which certainly is the Duty
of every Wise Man in all his Actions.
Therefore, after he had got the Grant
of the Place, he obtain’d of the King,
that the Seal should not be taken from
the Commissioners, and put into his
Custody, before Ten Weeks were
over. Thus he thought Popular Dis-
course would have leisure to spend it
self, and he himself have time to study
and weigh the Trust of his Office;
and the better to enable himself to
discharge it, he kept Sir *Harry Finch*,
a most profound Lawyer, in his Lodg-
ings, from *May* to *October* following,
to advise with him upon all occasions.
By this means too, he had time to seek

*The Dean's
Caution to
avoid En-
vy.*

(60.)

out for honest and able Servants to fill the Chief Places of Trust under him. Add to this, that in the *Interim* several Things were discours'd of, to his Honour: for when the first Heat of a Rumor is over, then People are apt upon second Thoughts, to reason the Matter candidly and fairly; whereas in the beginning the impetuous bent and current of the Stream is apt to appear even the weightiest Judgments along with it. Now it began to break out, that this Preferment was not of his own seeking, neither could it then or thereafter be made out, that he had bought his Greatness. Next to this, he shelter'd himself under his Modesty; which, because it is soft and yielding, breaks the force of Envy, the most of any thing; and therefore his humble Request to his Majesty was, That he would take off from the Grandure of his Place, by such Terms and Conditions in his Person, as might comprize it in a less size, than it was ever before receiv'd in by any. To this intent, he desir'd no Chancellor for the future might continue above three Years; that he should be in the nature of a Probationer for one Year and half;

half; that in the Court of *Chancery* he might have a *Master of the Rolls*, of exact Knowledge, to sit with him; and lastly, the constant Assistance of two Judges. What could shew greater Modesty and Caution, the two main Supporters of Men in high Places? But all these Proposals were rejected, and made ineffectual, 'tis likely underhand by some curious Persons, who might have a mind to try, if the new Lord Keeper could walk alone without falling, in so slip'ry a Place. 'Tis to no purpose to answer the Objections which some Persons then made (and may make now) against his Entringing upon that Office, being a Clergy-man, and set a-part, as it were, for God's Service: As if taking Orders did incapacitate a Man of Abilities from serving his King and Countrey; or as if a Priest were no Subject, and his King had no Right in him. 'Tis true indeed at first, when the Harvest was great, and the Labourers but few, the Labourers could not well be spar'd out of the Field, any more than a Soldier can in the Day of Battle. But now that the whole Nation is gain'd over to the Gospel, and thanks be to

God,

(55.)
Objections
against a
Clergy-
man's be-
ing Lord
Keeper, an-
swer'd.

G O D, we have able Pastors and Teachers; the Church of *Christ* may be serv'd and patroniz'd by other means, beside Preaching. And the Clergy have but too great need of some of their own Order in Places of Power and Dignity, to preserve their Maintenance from Sacrilege, and their Persons and Function from Contempt.

(56.) But what had been a real Objection could it have been made but true, was, that some should cry out, He was illiterate in the Laws: this scandal vanish'd soon tho', when the Court had Tryal of his Abilities. And to the Doctor's great Credit be it spoken, that tho' bred a Divine, yet no Man either before or after, acquitted himself beyond him, and perhaps, not equal to him, in *Chancery*.

(61.)
He is made
Bishop of
Lincoln,
and holds
his other
Prefer-
ments too.

I have been so taken up with the Incumbrances of settling his Lordship in his new Office, that I have not had time before to tell my Reader, That, in the same Month he was made Lord Keeper, he was likewise made Bishop of *Lincoln*. And because the Revenues of that Bishoprick were but small, he urging, that the Port and Grandure of the Keeper's Place must be maintain'd

tain'd in some convenient manner, and if it might possibly be, without being a charge to his Majesty; his Lordship got a Grant to hold the Deanery of *Westminster*, which was fought after by several that stood upon the catch at that time, expecting that it would be voided by the Lord Keeper. It was well for him tho', that he had secur'd himself in the Deanery as fast as Law could make him, when about five Years after his Enemies strove to out him. By the Indulgence of his *Commendam* too, he held his Rectory of *Walgrave*; saying; *That the Instability of Humane Affairs, should make every Man look for a Dissolution of his Fortunes, as that of his Body.* Upon Cypr. Ang. p. 86. his holding all his Preferments, Dr. *Heylyn*, I remember, makes this pleasant Remark; That he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Residentiary and Parson all at once: To which let me add, That never was there, I believe, a Diocess more compleat, or better fill'd, in all the several Degrees of Dignity and Office.

The Keeper now being high in his Majesty's Favour, as the King had
rais'd

*Laud made
Bishop of
St. David's
by Wil-
liams's In-
terest.*

(64.)

rais'd him for his, so now he through the King rais'd others for their Merits. He got the Royal Grant for the Advancement of four at one time; Dr. *Davenant* to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Carew* to that of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Donne* to succeed *Carew* in the Deanery of *St. Paul's*; at this time too *St. David's* Bishoprick was void, and the principal among those that put for it was Dr. *Laud*, a Man of great Learning. But, it seems, both the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* were much bent against him, judging him to be a Man of too bold and hot a Spirit for those Times. So that there had been but small hopes for him, had not *Buckingham* set the Keeper on to move in his behalf, who by his great Importunity with the King, at last prevail'd for him, with much ado: For, says the King to him in a passion, as he went away, *Then take him to you, but on my Soul you will repent it*: And 'twas ominous, it seems. After this, the Lord Keeper retain'd *Laud* in his Prebend of *Westminster*, and about a Year after gave him a Living of about 120 *l. per An.* in the Diocess of *St. David's*, to help his

his Revenue; which being brought to him at *Durham-House*, beyond his Expectation, by Mr. *William Winn*, his Expression was, *Mr. Winn, my Life will be too short to requite your Lord's Goodness*. But how two Men so Great and so good should break out after into open Enmity is a Mystery to me at present. If I can hit upon any probable account, by that time I come to speak of their Differences, the Reader shall have it: Else I shall not, I think, put my Invention upon the stretch, out of Prejudice to either Party: I being wholly unconcern'd as to either of them, any farther than that I am willing, as far as shall lie in my Power, to rescue the Memories of great and worthy Men from such Calumnies, as it is but too often their hard Fortune to be sullied withall: so ungrateful and sacrilegious are we to the Dead, to curry Favour with the Living; who, when their Turn comes (as who knows how nigh his own may be) to quit the World, are like to fare no better; if there be any thing to be gain'd by throwing Infamy, Reproaches, and such heavy Lumber upon their Graves, instead of raising Monuments for them.

I would beg my Reader's Pardon for this Digression, but that would but enlarge it.

The Keeper's Diligence in his Office.

I proceed now to shew the Lord Keeper in his New Imployment; for I have already kept him longer idle than he would be content to be, were he now living. He was a Man (as we have seen before) of incomparable Natural Parts; but alas! under a load of Bus'ness they sink soon; and nothing but Application and incessant Industry can rub through all Incumbrances, and make clean Work. It is almost incredible what a perfect Drudge the Keeper was, especially when he first entred upon his Office: for long use and familiarity makes all Bus'ness easy. It was in the end of *Michaelmas* Term that he first appear'd in *Chancery*, and in *November* the *Parliament* sat again, in which he was Speaker in the Lord's House: and he had in the Court of *Chancery*, besides the ordinary Bus'ness, several Causes, which were refer'd in the preceeding Session of *Parliament* to the succeeding Lord Keeper, to view the Orders of his Predecessor displac'd. And his Bus'ness at this time was so great, that he was forc'd

to

to sit by Candle-light in the Court
 two hours before Day, and to remain
 there till between Eight and Nine;
 then to repair to his Office in the (54)
 House of Lords till Twelve or One
 every Day. After a short Repast at
 Home, he return'd to hear the Causes
 in *Chancery*, which he could not dis-
 patch in the Morning: Or if he at-
 tended at Council in *Whitehall*, he
 came back towards Evening, and fol-
 low'd his Imployment in *Chancery* till
 Eight at Night, and later. After this,
 when he came Home, he perus'd what
 Papers his Secretaries brought to him,
 and when that was done, tho' late in
 the Night, he prepar'd himself for
 the Lord's House next Morning. And (7.)
 all that liv'd in his Family, knew that
 it was ordinary with him, to begin
 his Studies at Six at Night, and to
 continue them till Three in the Morn-
 ing, and be ready again by Seven
 to attend his Imployment. When I
 read or hear of such great Examples
 as This, it makes me think with Re-
 gret, what a great many precious
 Hours we squander away; how we
 forget the great Errand we are sent
 upon, and let the Bus'ness of the
 F World,

World, and the Welfare of Mankind run all to havock, while we are either lazily stretching our selves in our Beds, or impertinently cutting out our Time into formal Visits, or idle Assignations.

(71.)
His Entrance upon
his Office.

Upon the First Day of the Term, when he was to take his Place in Court, he declin'd all the Pomp of an Inauguration; and setting out betimes in the Morning, attended by the Judges, and some few more, he pass'd through the Cloisters into the Abby, and went with them into *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel, where he pray'd devoutly on his Knees almost a quarter of an Hour: Then rising up chearfully, he was conducted by his small Train to a mighty confluence, that expected him in the Hall. These he address'd himself to from the Bench of the Court of *Chancery*: I omit the Speech it self; but the Substance of what he spoke was, 'To desire, that those Reasons
'of State, which had thought it convenient, to change the Governour of
'this Court from a Professor of our
'*Municipal* Laws, to some one of the
'Nobility, Gentry or Clergy of this
'Kingdom, might not create him any
'Envy.

(72.)
His Speech.

'Envy. And tho' I dare not take upon
 'me (says he) to account for these
 'Reasons; yet peradventure this Court
 'of Equity may be as soon perverted
 'by too much, as too little Law: And
 'the principal Qualifications for the
 'well managing of it, seem to be, great
 'Natural Abilities, and a large com-
 'pass of Learning, with a sincere In-
 'tegrity of Mind, rather than an exact
 'Knowledge in the Quirks of the Law.
 'Then he proceeds modestly to con-
 'fess his own Insufficiency for so great
 'a Place; but since it had pleas'd G O D (73.)
 'and his Majesty to put him upon an
 'Office, which was not of his own
 'seeking, tho' at present he was unfit,
 'yet he would endeavour all he could,
 'to make himself fit; and the better
 'to enable him, he would put his
 'whole Trust and Confidence in G O D.
 'To this he added some few Resolu-
 'tions, by which he design'd to guide
 'his Actions: as *First*, never to make
 'any Decree that should cross the
 'Grounds of the *Common* or *Statute*
 '*Laws*. *Secondly*, never to encourage
 'any Motion made at the Bar, which
 'did not tend apparently to further
 'and hasten the Hearing of the Cause.

F 2

Thirdly,

(74.) ‘*Thirdly*, that without special Motives,
 ‘he would not overthrow the Decrees
 ‘of his Predecessors. *Fourthly*, to be as
 ‘cautious as possible in referring Cau-
 ‘ses, because it defer’d the hearing of
 ‘them. *Fifthly*, he resolv’d that this
 ‘Court should be no Sanctuary for un-
 ‘discreet and desperate Sureties. *Lastly*,
 ‘that he would follow the Rules of this
 ‘Court as near as possibly he could.

*His well or-
 dering of
 the Court
 of Chan-
 cery.*

To make good Resolutions is doubt-
 less the Mark of an ingenuous Temper,
 but to keep them and practice according
 to them, shews a Man stanch and of sted-
 dy Principles. And whatever the Kee-
 per resolv’d, he had Courage and In-
 dustry enough to go through with it.
 When he had been some time in his
 Place to stock himself with Experience,
 never was the Court of *Chancery* bet-
 (76.) ter order’d, than in his Time. For
 he made it his Bus’ness to prevent all
 immethodical Pleadings, to cheek Ex-
 cursions, and hold the Council close
 to the Point. Immediately upon the
 opening of a Bill, he would direct the
 Pleaders, and suffer them to speak on-
 ly the very weight of the Cause. And
 so skilful did he grow in his Bus’ness,
 that when he had been in Office for

two Terms, the Council at the Bar (who were Men of Worth and Judgment) approv'd of him very much. After he had spent three Years in *Chancery*, he was not a whit inferior to the best Judge for Sufficiency, to manage his Place. So that it is a Slander, that his Successor the Lord *Coventry*, revers'd many of his Decrees, and corrected his Errors. Let me (says Bishop *Hacket*) quote a couple of Witnesses, what they asserted of him; and they are (continues he) rightly produc'd, as God shall judge. The Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term 1624. desir'd the Lord Chief-Justice *Hobart*, to certify the King, that *Williams*, by reason of his Inabilities and Ignorance, was not fit for the Keeper's Place; and upon that, he would engage to throw him out, and that he should succeed him. My Lord (replies *Hobart*) somewhat might have been said at the first, but he should do the Lord Keeper great wrong that should say so now. The next is Mr. *G. Evelin*, one of the six Clerks, and in his Time the best Head-piece of the Office, who took pleasure in saying (as many yet know) that the

(200.)

His Decrees never cancel'd.

(201.)

*Masters his
Passion.*

*His great
Dispatch
in Bus'ness.*

(74.)

Lord Keeper *Williams* had the most tow'ring, sublime Wit, that he ever heard speak; and that his Decrees in all Causes were just: that the Lord *Coventry* did seldom alter any thing he had settled before him, but upon new Presumptions, and that he spake of him always in Court very honourably. By that time too that he had spent three Years in the Court of *Chancery* he had obtain'd a very great command over his Passion, (which was at first objected to him) and he carried all things with a mild and gentle Hand, would chide little, and bear much. How excellent he was for dispatching Bus'ness, take this Account, which he gives of his first Year, in a Letter to the Lord Marquess: *July 10. 1622.* *In this Place I have now serv'd his Majesty one whole Tear, diligently and honestly; but to my Heart's grief, by reason of my Rawness and Inexperience, very unprofitably. Yet if his Majesty will examine the Registers, there will be found more Causes finally ended this Tear, than in all the seven Tears preceding: How well ended, I confess ingenuously, I know not. His Majesty and your Lordship (who, no doubt, have*

receiv'd some Complaints, tho' in your Love you conceal them from me) are in that the most competent Judges. His Dispatch (it seems) which was his great Excellency, was cry'd out against by some, and that Causes were cut off too soon. But it was not with him as with a corrupt Judge, that will put off a Hearing to a more convenient Season, as they call it. (75.)

Before I leave this Court to follow him to the *Star-Chamber*, I shall desire my Reader to laugh a little with me, at a diverting Passage which happen'd about his first Entrance upon *Chancery*. And here I shall borrow Bishop *Hacket's* own Phrase, for the better Expressing of the Story. It happen'd once, that one at the Bar (thinking the Lord Keeper as a Novice, might be ignorant of the Terms of the *Common-Law*) trouled out a Motion, cramm'd like a *Granado* with obsolete Words, thinking with these misty Phrases, to baffle the new Judge: But he, with a serious Face, answer'd him in a cluster of crabbed Notions pick'd out of *Metaphysicks* and *Logick*; as *Categorematical*, and *Syncategorematical*, and a deal of such drumming stuff, (76.)

that the Motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laugh'd at in the Court, went Home with this new Lesson, *That he that tempts a Wise Man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.*

His Proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(82.)

And now to view him in the *Star-Chamber*. Here he kept up the Dignity of the Court, by driving away all those Contentious Squabbles, which might be better compounded at Home, by Countrey Justices; and admitting here only grave and weighty Causes, as notorious Examples of Defamations, Perjuries, Riots, Extortions, and the like. Upon which Topicks his Speeches were admirable, and taken in shorthand by several. They were neither tedious nor virulent; for he did not love to heighten the Calamities of the Afflicted. And so pitiful was he in his Censures, that if there be an extreme in shewing Mercy, it was his Fault. He would excuse himself from inflicting any severe Bodily Punishment upon an Offender, by saying, That Councils had forbid Bishops from meddling with Blood in a Judicial Form. So glad was he to have some pretence to be over Merciful.

(83.)

But

But once he did violence to his Nature, and the Occasion was this: One *Floud* had said, as was prov'd against him, That our Bishops were no Bishops, but only Lay-men, and usurpers of that Title. *Floud* (says the Lord Keeper) *since I am no Bishop in your Opinion, I will be no Bishop to you. I concur with my Lords (the like I never did before) in your Corporal Punishment.* In Pecuniary Fines too, his Hand was so light, that the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* complain'd against him to the King, for less'ning his Majesty's Fees. And he was as generous too in remitting his own; for when Sir *Francis Inglefield* blurted out before Witnesses, *That he could prove this Holy Bishop-Judge had been brib'd by some that far'd well in ther Causes;* the Bishop to clear himself, calls Sir *Francis* to make good his Words; which he being not able to do, a Fine of some thousands of Pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the King and the Injur'd Party. Soon after, the Lord Keeper sends for the poor dejected Gentleman, and told him, he would give him Demonstration, that he was above a Bribe; and for my part (says he) I for-

(84.)

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(84.)

give you ev'ry Penny of my Fine, and will beg of his Majesty to do the same. This piece of Generosity so vanquish'd Sir *Francis*, that he acknowledg'd his Fault, and was afterwards receiv'd into some degree of Friendship and Acquaintance with him. And now my Hand is in, I will give you another little Story, that shews much of his

(201.) Averseness to Bribery. His Lordship being retired one Summer to *Nonsuch-House*, it chanced, as he was taking the Air in the great Park, that he cast his Eye on the little Village of *Malden*, from one of the Hills; and seeing there a New-built Church, he ask'd at whose Expence it was. Mr. *George Minors*, that attended him then, told his Lordship, who was the greatest Benefactor. And has he not a Suit depending now in *Chancery*? saith the Keeper; the very same, reply'd the other. *And the same* (returns the Keeper) *shall not fare the worse for Building of Churches*. When Mr. *Minors* had told his Neighbour this, the next Morning he sent a Taste of the Fruits of his Orchard, and the Poultry in his Yard, to *Nonsuch-House*: *Nay carry them back George* (says the Keeper)

Keeper) *and tell your Friend, he shall not fare the better for sending of Presents.*

But you'll say, this is but a trifle; and he that forfeits his Honour at so cheap a rate, must be both Fool and Knave. And it is impossible a Man should live at the rate he did, and expend such vast Sums, but he must have some By-way to enrich himself. To this I answer, That he was liberal indeed, but then his Income was large by his Preferments, and he knew well how to manage it to the best Advantage. Add to this, that he never feasted the King, and very rarely put himself to the charge of any Entertainments for the Courtiers. But what he did disburse was principally upon poor Scholars, and decay'd Gentlemen, whom he would thank any one to inform him of: And the Prisoners at the Gate-house were the better for his Charity every week. And thus with God's Blessing upon his Plenty, he was able to go a great way with his Purse.

Cabal. p.
409.
He numbers up
Nine Preferments,
which he had when he was Dean of Westminster.

Ay, but (says A. W.) Williams exceeded Bacon in the way of Bribery; answering by Petitions, in which his Servants had one part, himself another,
and

Co. & Ch.
p. 139.

and so was calculated to be worth to him and his Servants 3000 l. per An. a
 (105.) *new way, never found out before. And true it is, that it was objected to him, That he dispatch'd a great many Causes by hearing Petitions in his Chamber; and this he did for the Relief of the Poor, from whom he could make no Advantage, either to himself or to his Secretaries. But he is not the first that has been accus'd for his Good Works. Some at the Bar, 'tis likely, were dissatisfied, because they had not a Glut of Motions. Therefore the Keeper, to secure himself from Misrepresentations (the Bane of honest*
 (106.) *Statesmen) directs two Remonstrances, the first to the Lord Marquess, Sept. 8. the other to his Majesty, Octob. 9. 1622. In that to the Marquess, he protests, that he is fain to allow twenty pounds a Year to a Youth in his Chamber, to take care of the poor Men's Petitions, the Secretaries did so neglect them. In that to his Ma'esty, he declares, that he had observ'd in all Orders upon Petition, the Cautions which he had receiv'd from him. Then, says he, I humbly crave your Majesty's Opinion, whether I may go on this way; for*
what

what reason have I to over-toil myself, in easing the Purse of the Subjects, if it be objected as a Crime against me, and be not a Service acceptable to your Majesty and the Realms?

So the King approv'd of his proceedings. (107.) This Slander, as it troubled him very much, so he was diligent to clear himself from it; as appears not only from the Remonstrances, but likewise from a Letter of his at the same time to the Duke. Cabal. p. 292.

It is not sufficient to render an Officer unblameable, that he be proof against Bribery. He must likewise have Courage enough not to dread the Malice and Ill-will of any, so long as he does his Duty; and so much rigid Honesty as to stand out in a just Cause, against the Interest even of his dearest Friends, and greatest Benefactors: for there is one to whom we are all infinitely oblig'd more than to all the World beside, and that is God; whose Cause therefore can never be forsaken, without the blackest Ingratitude. This, I confess, is the greatest trial of Virtue; it being, doubtless, a harder Injunction to Humanity, to forsake our Friends for God's sake, than to love
our

our Enemies. How secure the Lord Keeper was from the Wo, so justly denounc'd against them that fear Men more than God, the Reader may see from several Instances, extant in Bishop

(70,71.) *Hacket*: And I shall make it evident enough, if, omitting those Passages, I only mention his Courage, in withstanding *Buckingham*, when he saw just reason for it; for to be sure if he would not yield to him, that was not only the most powerful Courtier in his time, but likewise his very great Patron, no one will surmise that he stood in Aw

(207.) of others. And so remarkable was his Resolution in sometimes crossing of this Great Favourite's Designs, when he saw weighty Reasons for it; that the King when in a pleasant mood would say, *That he was a stout Man, that durst do more than himself*: For the Duke, it seems, was so great with the Prince, that the King himself was forc'd in Policy to hide his Resent-

(208.) ments from him. And his Majesty thank'd God in the presence of many, that he had put the Keeper into that place: *For (says he) he that will not wrest Justice for Buckingham's sake, whom he loves, will never be corrupted*

rupted with Money, which he never lov'd. And because the Keeper had liv'd fairly for the space of three Years upon the bare Revenues of his Office, and was not the richer by the sale of one Cursitor's place in all that Time; his Majesty gave him a Bountiful New-Years Gift, thinking it but reasonable to encourage him by his Liberality, that never sought after Wealth, by the sordid means of Extortion or Bribery.

I have given you a full View of the Lord Keeper in *Chancery*, and in the *Star-Chamber*. In the next place I shall bring him into the *Parliament-House*, and see with what Prudence he behav'd himself there; a Station, perhaps, much more ticklish than either of the former. In the first Term that he came into Office, the *Parliament* sate in its second Session Nov. 20. at which time by command from the King, he spake to both Houses: of which Speech thus my Lord *Buckingham* speaks in a Letter to him, dated November 24. I know not how the *Upper-House of Parliament* approve of your Lordship's Speech, but I am sure he that called them together, and, as I think, can best judge

His Conduct in Parliament.

(76.)

Rush. Collect. p. 39. An. 1621.

judge of it, is so taken with it, that he saith, It is the best that ever he heard in Parliament, and the nearest to his Majesty's Meaning; which, beside the Contentment it hath given his Majesty, hath much comforted me in the Choice of your Lordship; who in all things do so well answer his Expectation.

The Keeper gives his Reasons why the Nobility should not swear by their Honour.

(77.)

Two remarkable occurrences hap-
pen'd this Session that more immediately relate to the Keeper. For when the Privilege of the Nobility was debated, and almost carried by a Majority, that the Vouching of their Honour should pass with them for an Oath; he prevented it, by the Force of the following Reasons. That the Word of God allows of no swearing in deciding of Controversies, and searching after Truth, but by his Name: That the last Appeal is ever to the highest; And that Vengeance belongs to none but God. To this he adds; That Singularities are ever to be suspected, and challenges any Man to shew that any other Oath, but in the Name of God, was us'd in solemn Tryals at that Day, in any Part of Christendom. He advises them to
confi-

consider too, how loth the Gentry and Commonalty would be to intrust their Freehold to the protestation of Honour. And these Considerations prevail'd with most. But the Debate continuing very long that Morning, an aged Bishop, very infirm in Health, desired to be excused if he could not stay it out. With all our Hearts (said ^{The Bishop's} some Lords, that did not much reverence the Order) you may all of you ^{affronted} troop Home as fast as you please; ^{by some} and the Earl of *Essex*, pressing it more passionately than any, desired to know if their Lordships were not content to throw the Doors wide open, and let all the Bishops out, if they would. Upon this, up stands the Keeper, and with a prudent Animosity, reply'd, 'That if he were commanded, he would ^{The Keeper} put it to the Question, but to the ^{speaks for} King, and not to the House of Peers. 'For their Lordships, as well Spiritual 'as Temporal were call'd by the King's 'Writ, to sit and abide there, till the 'same Power dissolv'd them. And for 'my Lords Temporal, they had no 'Power to license themselves, much 'less to authorize others to depart from 'the *Parliament*: and so all was hush'd.

G

And

And this very Passage, were there no more of the Lord Keeper remaining, is sufficient to shew him to be as Great a Man, as ever spoke in *Parliament*.

(81.)
The King
and Com-
mons dis-
agree.

Rush. Col-
lect. p. 40,
41, &c.

Cabal. p.
288.

Rush. Col-
lect. p. 54.

At this time again the House of *Commons* and the King could by no means agree; for they displeas'd him very much with their Petitions and Remonstrances, insomuch that his Majesty in a Letter rebuk'd them severely: The harshness of which Answer, the Keeper advis'd might be mitigated and softned; for he could never bear, that there should be a Misunderstanding between the King and his People, if it were possible to prevent it. Nevertheless, the Ferment by degrees work'd it self to such a height, that the King departed from them in his Wrath, and dissolv'd them utterly by Proclamation, on the 6th of *January*. This troubled the Keeper very much, who saw plainly of what dangerous Consequence this might be; and how much his Majesty trespass'd against the true Principles of *English* Policy, by quarrelling with his *Parliament*. And therefore he did all he could to perswade the King to make it his earnest En-

Endeavour to unite with them, when they were assembled next.

Upon *Michaelmas* Eve, Viscount *Mandevile*, Lord Treasurer of *England*,
An. 1621: Stow Chr: Lord Cranfield made L. Treasurer.
 furrender'd his Office up to the King, and upon the next Day after but one, the Lord *Cranfield* was set in his place.

The Keeper giving him his Oath, (104.)
 complimented him too with a short Speech at his Admission. So that as yet there was nothing in appearance but Friendship between *Cranfield* and *Williams*; tho' the Treasurer had cross'd him in one or two Suits, which he regarded the less, because he knew him to be a little rough and surly by Nature to all People. But after the Dissolution of the preceding *Parliament*, some of the Lords of the Council thought it advisable, to take off from the harshness of it, by a Pardon of Grace, for the Benefit of those that were question'd for old Debts and Duties to the Crown. And when the Lord Keeper had just brought it to a Head, in steps the Treasurer, and moves, That such as took out this Pardon, should pay the accustom'd Fees, to such Officers as he should appoint, that so he might at once in-

rich the King and himself: which Proposal was laugh'd at, and rejected. Yet still he persisted to burden this Pardon with such Incumbrances, which must needs render it unacceptable; insomuch that it was lay'd aside, and debated no more. This as it got the Treasurer a great deal of Ill-will, so it redounded to the Keeper's Credit, who was one of the main Sticklers for the Pardon. This gall'd *Cranfield* sorely, and set him upon endeavouring, first to make a Faction at Court against *Williams*: but having not sufficient Interest with the Great Ones, he tries another Trick. So he falls to Pen, Ink and Paper, and *Draws up some pitiful Failings, interwoven with Fiction and Ignorance*, against him; from which the Keeper found it a much easier Task to clear himself, than his Adversary did at first to invent them. But yet he complains, in a Letter to the Marquess, as very sensible of the Injury done him; whose Answer to him was, that his Adversary was not believ'd, and desired him to consider, that he had to do with one whose Ill-manners would give him no satisfaction: to which the Keeper replies,

in

*Cranfield
endeavours
to ruin the
Keeper.*

*Cabal. p.
292.*

*P. 292.
The Keeper
clears him-
self from
his Accu-
sations.*

in another Letter, *His Majesty's Justice*, and your *Lordship's Love*, are *Anchors strong enough for a Mind more toss'd than mine is, to ride at.* Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this *Consideration*, if I exceed a little in *Passion*, the Natural Effect of *Honesty and Innocency*. A Churchman and a Woman, have no greater Idol under Heaven, than their Good Name: And they cannot fight, nor with credit scold, and least of all recriminate, to protect and defend the same. The only Revenge left them is to grieve and to complain. Then he concludes, *Whom I will either challenge before his Majesty to make good his Suggestions, or else (which I hold the greater Valour, and which I wanted, I confess, before this Check of your Lordship's) go on in my Course, and scorn all these unworthy Scandals, as your Lordship shall direct me.* But for all this in a Month's space, they wrangled themselves into very good Friends again; and the Keeper was Godfather to the Treasurer's next Child.

In the Year 1623. in Febr. The Par- (175.)
liament met again, his Majesty think- A Call of
ing it high time to enter into a Cor- Serjeants,
respondence

(110.) response with his People once more. The Lord Keeper, foreseeing this, gets his Majesty to sign a Writ, for a Call of Serjeants; which accordingly was perform'd on *May* the 6th.

Fifteen, according to Stow.

Thirteen of the best Repute being chosen, who on that Day made their Appearance before the Lord Keeper, sitting in the High Court of *Chancery*; from whence he saluted them with a Learned and Eloquent Oration, according to the Relish of those Times, that lov'd to have their Speeches embroider'd with *Greek* and *Latin*: As tho' the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel* had been absolutely necessary to compleat the Art of *Oratory*: But yet a Great Man must condescend to the Follies of the Times he lives in; and perhaps it were no impertinent Caution, to speak generally with the Vulgar, tho' we may think with the Wise. But, to go on with the *Parliament*: When (175.) they were met, and the King had ended his Speech to them, he was seconded by the Lord Keeper; and so ended the first Day. On *Saturday* following, the 21. of the Month, the Keeper again declar'd his Majesty's (172.) Mind to the People: And so well was he

ap.

approv'd of for a Speaker, that within
 three Days after, he had work enough,
 and too much of that Nature on his
 Hands. The Duke of *Buckingham*
 (it seems) had entertain'd the *Lords*
 and *Commons* in the *Banqueting-house*
 at *Whitehall*, with the whole Story of
 the Negotiation in *Spain*, and how
 well both the Prince and he had ma-
 naged their Conduct all along in that
 Affair; when at the same time (if we
 credit some Historians) the Duke's
 Behaviour in that Court was all im-
 prudent. But however (Nature mak-
 ing every Man Orator in his own
 Cause) he put a good Gloss upon it,
 and so tickled their Ears with his Ha-
 rangue, that they must have it over
 again the next Day, and the Keeper
 must be the Speaker. So he rubs up
 his Memory, draws up his Notes in
 haste upon three Sheets of Paper,
 and lays his whole Scheme according
 to the Duke's Model presented the
 Day before; for to err from that, he
 knew, would be no less than Treason.
 So, when the time was come, he be-
 gan his Speech, and held it on for
 four Hours together, without the least
 Hesitation or Repetition; and every

*The Keeper
 desir'd to
 repeat the
 Duke's
 Account of
 the Spanish
 Treaty to
 the Parlia-
 ment.*

*The Duke
 is pleas'd
 with the
 Narration
 of it.
 (185.)*

thing was so methodical, so judicious and so graceful withal; that he never got more Applause in his Life for any thing of that kind: And so acceptable was it to the Duke himself (tho' then but a cold Friend) that he said, *He knew not how to thank him enough for it.*

(186.) I should be too particular should I make it my Bus'ness to recount how very active the Keeper was in this Blessed *Parliament* (eminently so called) for the publick good; how he studied to preserve a mutual Agreement between the King and his People, by keeping up the Prerogative of the one, and maintaining the lawful Liberties of the other; how he would compose Discontents, and mollifie the Refractory, and oblige the leading Voices with Benefits, and what other Favours he thought might win upon them. I shall instance only in two Passages, how very tender he was of admitting the least occasion that might tend towards a Disgust any way between his Majesty and his Subjects. The Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* (you are to understand) had disoblig'd the Prince, when he was in *Spain*,
by

The Keeper's care to preserve Agreement between King and People.

Cyprianus
Angl. p.
123.

by dissuading the King from those large Supplies, which were requir'd for the Maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Court. And he had lost himself with the Duke, by joining (as was thought) in some secret Practices, to lessen him in his Majesty's Favour. Now both the Prince and the Duke had sided with the *Commons* in drawing the King by their continual Importunities to dissolve the Treaty; and the *Commons* must now take their Parts in prosecuting *Cranfield*. This Accident troubled the King mightily, who was then at *Greenwich*. He had put great Confidence in his Treasurer, and therefore try'd all he could to defend him: he sends for the Prince his Son, and charges him, That he should not be of any Party in either House; but all to no purpose; for the Duke had push'd him on so far, that there was no retreating. So his Majesty sent for the Lord Keeper, and told him plainly, That he would not make his Treasurer a publick Sacrifice. 'Sir (says the Keeper) I have attempted amongst my surest Friends, to bring him off fairly: All shrink and refuse me; only the stout and pru-

The occasion of Treasurer Cranfield's Disgrace.

(186.)

The Keeper's Advice to the King about the Treasurer.

G 5

'dent

'dent Lord *Hollis* adventur'd upon the
 'Frowns of the Prince and Duke, and
 'gave his Reasons, why *Middlesex*
 'appear'd to him an Innocent. I were
 'mad, if, for my part, I should not
 'wish him to escape this Tempest, and
 'be safe under the Harbour of your
 'Majesty's Clemency. When I deli-
 'berate upon him, I think of my self;
 'tis his Fortune to Day, 'tis mine to
 'Morrow. The Arrow that hits him
 'is within an handful of me. Yet, Sir,
 'I must deal faithfully; your Son the
 'Prince is the main Champion, that
 'encounters the Treasurer; whom if
 'you save, you foil your Son. For
 'tho' matters are carried by the whole
 'Vote of *Parliament*, and are driven
 'on by the Duke; yet they that walk
 'in *Westminster-Hall*, call this The
 'Prince's Undertaking; whom you
 'will blast in his Bud to the Opinion
 'of all your Subjects, if you suffer not
 'your Old, and perhaps Innocent Ser-
 'vant to be pluck'd from the Sanctuary
 'of your Mercy. Necessity must ex-
 'cuse you from Inconstancy or Cruelty.

*The Treas-
 surer is
 find and
 imprison'd.*

So with these Reasons the King was
 perswaded to yield to the Headstrong
 Importunities of his *Parliament*;
 and

and the Treasurer was depos'd, fin'd a thousand Pounds, and committed to the Tower, on the 20th of *May* 1624. But discharg'd thence again on the first of *June* next following. For, let but a People (like froward Children) have their Will, when they are bent upon it, and after the Heat is over with them, you may bring them to any thing, nay even to undo what they so passionately acted before. And it must be an inveterate Malice, indeed, that does not relent and grow mild, when the Revenge is over.

The next thing I have to mention, happen'd in the Year 1622. When his Majesty design'd to call a *Parliament*, (which was the *Parliament* I spoke of just before) that they might not waste Time in speaking to petty Grievances, he being then at *New-Market*, drew up a Proclamation on *Feb.* 20th himself; that certain of the Lords of the *Privy-Council* should have a special Commission to receive the Complaints of the Subject, and that they should be encourag'd to present their Grievances by the Judges in their respective Circuits, as well as by the Proclamation. This came by Post, to pass the

Stow's
Chron.

The Keeper's Advice
about the
King's Proclamation
to redress
Grievances.
(109.)

Great-

The Letter is in Bishop Hacket.

(110.) *Great-Seal:* But the Lord Keeper looking it over, after he had consider'd upon it, sends it back without the Seal, with his Advice in a Letter, That his Majesty would be pleas'd (if he had no private Reasons to the contrary to make it, according to the Methods propos'd by him, a little more palatable and agreeing to the People, before it was publish'd. And when the King had read the Letter, and saw how very reasonable the Advice was, he alter'd every thing according to the Keeper's Directions. To this I might add, what occurs to me at this present, his great Care to prevent Jealousies amongst the People, when his Majesty (the Treaty then going on with *Spain*) sent, to have the *Great-Seal* put first to a General Pardon of all Offences past, with a Dispensation for those to come, to all the *Roman Catholicks*: And then, upon that, to issue forth two General Commands under the *Great-Seal*; the First, to all the Judges and Justices of the Peace; and the Second, to all Bishops, Chancellors and Commissaries, not to execute any Statute made against them. 'The General Pardon (says the Keeper)

His Advice concerning the General Pardon for the Papists.

Cabal. p. 297.

'we

‘we have pass’d in as full and ample a
‘Manner as they could desire or pen
‘it. The other General and Vast
‘Prohibition I prevail’d with the rest
‘of the Lords to stop, for these Rea-
‘sons. First, because the Publishing
‘of this General Indulgence at one
‘push, might beget a general Discon-
‘tent, if not a Mutiny, but the Instil-
‘ling thereof into the People’s Know-
‘ledge by little and little, would not
‘shock them so much. Secondly, be-
‘cause to forbid the Judges and Justi-
‘ces of Peace against their Oaths, who
‘are sworn to execute the Law of the
‘Land, is a thing unpresided in
‘this Kingdom, and would be a harsh
‘and a bitter Pill to digest, without
‘some Preparative. Thirdly, his Ma-
‘jesty useth to speak to his Bishops,
‘Judges and Justices of the Peace, by
‘his Chancellor or Keeper, and by the
‘*Great-Seal*; and I can signifie his
‘Majesty’s Pleasure to them with less
‘Noise and Danger, especially by
‘declaring unto them the neces-
‘sity of these Proceedings at this
‘Juncture of Time. All these Instan-
ces laid together, sufficiently manifest
his

his Opinion, That where a King and People disagree, they are like a *House divided against it self*; for it is impossible, in such a posture, that either of them should stand long.

*An Account of the
Keeper as
a Privy
Counsellor*

Now we have pass'd through the Bus'ness of *Chancery, Star-Chamber,* and *Parliaments*, let us at last retire with him to the *Council-Board*: A Retirement indeed, such as becomes a Wiseman, and a Philosopher; not Retirement from Bus'ness, but from the Eyes of the Vulgar. This, tho' I mention it last of all, was yet the Office that he was first honour'd with in the State, being made *Privy Counsellor*, before he was made L. Keeper.

(84.) And here (as Bishop *Hacket* very well observes) a great part of the Work is done in secret and behind the Curtain, and by consequence escapes our Sight, and very often our Knowledge. So that from what we know, we cannot but imagine, that much greater Matters were transacted, that are to us as tho' they had never been. He, that undertakes the Province of a Counsellor, had need of a Head well stored with *Politicks*, a Heart steell'd with *Honesty*, and a Spirit truly *Publick*,

lick, and jealous of his Countrey's Good and Honour: For, as Ignorance is blind, and therefore but a bad Pilot in a troubled State, so Craft is short-sighted ever, and never looks beyond it self; and a Cunning-man may insnare his Prince, but never can advise. What a great Opinion his Majesty had of the Keeper's Wisdom, as it appears from several other passages, so more particularly from this, that *Ludowick Duke of Richmond* should tell him, that the King listned to him before any Minister of State: And that he did the oftner, because if his Majesty were moody, or any way out of Humour, the Keeper would bring him to his Lure with some facetious and pleasant Dash of Wit or other. He was likewise judg'd a great Abetter of his Nation's Honour and Interest; which was the Reason, that he was imploy'd by his Majesty more than all the rest, to Negotiate with Embassadors; in which Affairs it is an easy Matter to disgrace one's Countrey, if there be wanting either Conduct or Courage.

Thus you see how well he was qualified for the great Trust of a Counsellor.

The Rules he follow'd in Council.

fellow. And I find (says *Hacket*) by his own Confession remaining in some Papers, that he was beholding to the Lord *Egerton's* Directions, which were these: *First*, in all Advice to speak from the bottom of the Heart, without any reserve: *Secondly*, when any thing was propos'd, to examine first of all if it were just; for he that will make bold with God for Reasons of State, is not to be trusted by Man: in the next place, if it were for the Honour of the King; and lastly, if it were for the Advantage of Posterity, as well as for the present Good. To which he added this weighty Aphorism, *To ripen great Matters by Deliberation*. And his humble Request to his Majesty was, that Counsels should not be whisper'd by one or two in private, but be deliver'd openly at the Board, by sworn Counsellors. His Advice in General to him was, to follow former Precedents in all things, as much as possible: To let private Causes and Actions of *Meum* and *Tuum* be confin'd to the *Common-Law*, and not be admitted to the Council-Board, which his Majesty observ'd at his Request; to call *Parliaments* often, and
 to

to keep in with them; never by his Prerogative to abridge the Subjects Liberty, and the Rights of the Laws; and lastly to moderate his profuse Expences, and so to give, that there might be something left for the Prince his Son to give after him: But that (it seems) was a Lesson he could never teach him; tho' he did all he could to make his Admonitions sink into him, by nicking the Seasons for speaking, as particularly before a Sacrament, and at such times, as he thought his Majesty might be best dispos'd to receive good Impressions.

I come now to give you a particular Instance or two, wherein he serv'd his Gracious Master by his great stock of Wisdom, and marvellous Skill in *Politicks*. And here will naturally fall in what he acted while the Prince was in *Spain*. The King never advis'd with the Keeper, nor any of his Courtiers before his Son went over; (tho' some then suspected that *Williams* was privy to it) but when he came from *New-Market* to *Whitehall*, which was on the 30th of *March*, when first he saw the Keeper, smiling he ask'd him, 'Whether he thought this Knight-
H Errant

*The King
advise
with the
Keeper a-
bout the
Match
with Spain.*

(115.)

An. 1623.

‘Errant Pilgrimage would be lucky
 ‘to win the *Spanish* Lady, and to con-
 ‘vey her shortly into *England*? Sir,
 ‘(says *Williams*) If my Lord Marqueſs
 ‘will give Honour to Conde Duke Oli-
 ‘vares, and remember he is the Favou-
 ‘rite of *Spain*, or if *Olivares* will ſhew
 ‘honourable Civility to my Lord Mar-
 ‘queſs, remembring he is a Favourite
 ‘of *England*, the Wooing may be
 ‘prosperous. But if my Lord Mar-
 ‘queſs ſhould forget where he is, and
 ‘not ſtoop to *Olivares*; or if *Olivares*,
 ‘forgetting what Gueſt he hath receiv’d
 ‘with the Prince, bear himſelf haugh-
 ‘tily, and like a *Caſtilian* Grandee to
 ‘my Lord Marqueſs; the Provocation
 ‘may be dangerous to croſs your Ma-
 ‘jeſty’s good Intentions. And I pray
 ‘God that either one, or both of them
 ‘do not run into that Error. This
 ſhews that he underſtood the Court
 of *Spain* at that time, as well as if he
 had been a Miniſter there. And the
 King, ſenſible of this, deſir’d his Af-
 ſiſtance in this Buſineſs to the utmoſt
 of his power; and told him moreover,
 that if he would ſerve him faithfully
 in this one thing, *He would never part*
 (117.) *with him.* So the Keeper bethought
 him-

*The Keeper
 furthers it,
 and be-
 friends
 Bucking-
 ham.*

himself Night and Day, how to manage this Affair, and what Advice to give; and he sent Letters upon Letters to the Duke and Prince. Now *The Letters are in Hacket, p. 16, 17, &c.* *Williams* was glad that he had an Opportunity given him of Serving his great Benefactor, and expressing his Gratitude, which glow'd within his Breast. He sent Letters to Count *Gondamar*, to make *Buckingham* the more acceptable in that Court; where-
(119.)
in he desir'd of the Count, That he would do that Justice to the Marquess, as to make his Character known, for a Person of a wondrous deal of Generosity and Good-nature, with abundance more to his Commendation. And upon such Occasions it is that a Man stands most in need of a Friend; for I may speak for another, tho' I cannot with any Modesty for my self. More-
(117.)
over, he did all he could to preserve his Repute fair, both with the King and People, when in his Absence several Things were lay'd to his charge; and he would send him a particular Account of all the Occurrences at Court; that so he might not be trepan'd, before he was aware: And happy sure are Men in great Places;
H 2 that

that are bless'd with such Friends, as perhaps, while they are sleeping securely, like their Guardian-Angels, are ever wakeful, and tender of their Charge, and ready upon all Occasions to disappoint the Treacherous and Malicious Designs, that are ever forming against the Great. Yet, for all this, after the Prince and Duke came over again, the Keeper declin'd apace in the Duke's Favour; the Occasion of which will be fitter to be discover'd (if so be a true Discovery may be made at all, since the Springs of most Men's Actions are so dark) when we shall come to speak of his Fall, and the Causes thereof.

(208.)
The Keeper's Advice to the King about a Provision for the Palsgrave's Children.

A little after this, when he had been now in Office about three Years and an half, he gave another proof of his great Abilities in Counsel. The Treaties in *Spain* being laid aside, and new ones set on foot in *France*, there was but small hopes of recovering the *Palatinate*; which was the Occasion of a great deal of Concern to his Majesty, because he could no way foresee how his Grand-Children (which were then but young) would be able to subsist, when they grew to be Men, without being

being very chargeable to *England*. 'Sir,
'says the Lord Keeper, will you be
'pleas'd to listen to me, taking in the
'Prince's Consent, of which I make
'no doubt, and I will shew, how you
'shall furnish the Second and Third
'Brothers, with Preferments sufficient
'to maintain them, that shall cost you
'nothing. Breed them up for Scho-
'lars in Academical Discipline; keep
'them strictly to their Books, with such
'Tutors as will teach them not to abuse
'themselves with vain Hopes upon
'the Greatness of their Birth. If they
'fall to their Studies, design them for
'the Bishopricks of *Durham* and *Win-*
'*chester*, when they become void. If
'that happen in their Nonage (which
'is probable) appoint Commendato-
'ries to discharge the Duty for them
'for a laudable Allowance, but gather-
'ing the Fruits for the Support of your
'Grand-Children, till they come to Vi-
'rility to be consecrated. *George* Duke
'of *Anhalt*, having Ministerial Gifts,
'was Ordain'd into that Holy Calling
'at *Madgeburgh*, and yet put to no
'Shifts; as *Melancthon* is my Author,
'and many more. The Priestly Office
'was esteem'd from the beginning fittest

'for the best Gentlemen, for the First-
 'born, among them that serv'd the
 'True God. And the *Romans*, who
 (209.) 'serv'd them that were no Gods,
 'learn'd it at *Athens* from *Theseus*,
 'that Citizens of the Noblest Blood,
 'should be train'd up in the Know-
 'ledge of Sacred Things, and be made
 'the Administrators of Divine My-
 'steries. And I aim at another Bene-
 'fit, wherein I praise God, that I am
 'assured your Majesty will concur with
 'me, That the Office of a Bishop, im-
 'prudently by many maligned (I might
 'charge them with a worse crime) will
 'be the more Inviolable, when the
 'Branches of your Royal Stock have so
 'great an Interest in it. And such provi-
 'sion is needful against Schismatical At-
 'tempts, both for Religion's sake, and
 'the Publick Weal. For if such great
 'Superstructions should fall, all would
 'come to ruin that is round about
 'them. I will yet go further: If your
 'Majesty think a Bishoprick, tho' of
 'the best kind, too little for either of
 'them, you may be pleas'd to annex
 'to each of them one of your Princi-
 'pal Offices of State, as you find them
 'trusty and discreet. When he had
 ended,

ended, *As I live* (says the King) *I will follow this Direction; I thank you heartily for it; and I account, that it will save me more than the worth of a Subsidy.* But the Counsel as good as it was, it seems, was never put into execution; which was no fault of the Lord Keeper's.

I proceed now to a very Remarkable Instance of his Policy, that will shew how very vigilant he was to procure Intelligence of all secret Proceedings at Court, and how fit a Person he was to be consulted in a Difficulty, and to unravel Plots. You must understand, when the Prince and Duke return'd from *Spain*, they commented so upon the Proceedings of that Court in the Treaty, that the *Parliament* was full of Invectives and Resentments against it. *Inoiosa*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at our Court, hearing of this, he sets his Head on work, to make a Breach between the King and his *Parliament*; and likewise to set him against the Prince and the Duke, who, he knew well enough, were the main Persons concern'd. So with much ado at last, he gets an Opportunity (for he was never permitted to be in private

(195)

Inoiosa's Plot against the Prince and Duke.

*There is a
a Copy of it
in Hacket.*

with the King, by reason of the jealousy the Prince and the Duke had of him) to convey a Paper privately into his Majesty's Hand, in which were Articles drawn against the Prince and Duke, and ill Surmises against the *Parliament*. The Prince and Duke's fomenting the *Parliament* at this time against Treasurer *Cranfield*, whom the King (as we said before) was very desirous to save, might, with some other suspicious Occurrences at this Juncture, confirm his Majesty's Jealousies.

(196.)
*The King
jealous of
the Prince
and Duke.*

And so far did this Contrivance prevail upon the King, that he grew fullen and thoughtful, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Discourse, but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like flashes of Lightning from a black Cloud, shew'd a Storm gathering within. Immediately they conclude all was not right; and upon Inquiry, they found, that the *Spanish* Secretary, and *Maestro* the *Jesuit* had been with the King, and that some of the Ambassador's House had made their Brags, That they had nettled the Duke, and that a Train would take Fire speedily, to blow up the *Parliament*. The King amidst his great Anxieties prepares

prepares to go to *Windsor*, thinking perhaps to leave his Cares behind him. So in the End of *April*, being *Saturday* in the Afternoon, he takes Coach, and his Son along with him, but makes some slight Pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach. At that Tears burst from him, and he humbly requested his Majesty to tell him his Offence, that he might confess it, or clear himself: To which the King reply'd only (with a Sigh) *That he was the greatest Wretch living, to be forsaken of those that were dearest to him:* which Expressions drew Tears on both sides; but the King drove away for *Windsor*, and left the disconsolate Duke behind. (197.)

Now the Lord Keeper was a Man that spar'd no cost for the best Intelligence he could purchase of Court-Occurrences; and he would often say, *That without a deal of Money, it was impossible to be a Statesman.* And of this Accident, his Scout had brought the best Account he could from what he saw, for he heard little. So away he goes to the Duke, then all in Sorrow at *Wallingford-House*; and with much ado, gains admittance to him.

The Keeper's Advice to the Duke.

H 5

After

After solemn Protestations of the great Concern he had for him, and his earnest Desires to serve him, he begs of his Grace, that he would make haste for *Windsor*, and shew himself to his Majesty, before Supper was over; to carry himself withall the winning Address imaginable, and to keep Night and Day close to his Person. For the Danger was, lest any one should get the King's Ear, and perswade him to dissolve the *Parliament*, and upon the Dissolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the *Tower*, and then God knows what might follow. Lose no time, I beseech your Grace (says he) and lock up this Advice in your Breast. The Duke, returning him hearty Thanks, posts away to *Windsor*, and comes there unexpected. To be sure he acquainted the Prince with the Occasion of his coming: So that his Highness was early next *Monday* Morning at the Lord's House (before they sate) to speak with the Keeper. And taking him aside into a Lobby, he thanks him for the Counsel he gave *Buckingham*: 'And (says he) you that have gone 'thus far, may receive greater Thanks 'of us both, if you will spread open 'this

*The Prince
consults the
Keeper, who
detects the
whole Plot.*

'this black Contrivance, which hath
 'lost him the good Opinion of my Fa-
 'ther, and I my self am in little better
 'Condition. Sir (says the Keeper) let
 'my Soul suffer for Falshood, if I know
 'any more, than that some in the
 'Spanish Ambassador's House have been
 'preparing Mischief, and have infus'd
 'it about four Days since into his Ma-
 'jesty. But the Curtain of Privacy is
 'drawn before the Picture, that I cannot
 'guess at the Colours. Well, my Lord
 '(says the Prince) if that be the Picture-
 'drawer's Shop, no Counsellor in this
 'Kingdom is better acquainted than
 'your self with the Works and the
 'Workmen. I might have been (says
 'the Keeper) and I am pang'd like a
 'Woman in Travail, till I know what
 'Mis-shapen Creature they are draw-
 'ing. But your Highness and my Lord
 'Duke, have made it a Crime to send
 'unto that House, and they are afraid
 'to do it who are commanded from
 'his Majesty. It is a Month since I
 'have forbidden the Servants of that
 'House to come at me. But, says the
 'Prince, *I will make that Passage open*
 '*to you again without Offence, and en-*
 '*terprize any way to bring us out of*
this

'this Wood, wherein we are lost. Only
 'before we part, keep not from me, how
 'you came to know or imagine, that the
 'Spanish Agents have charg'd Buck-
 'ingham to my Father with high Mis-
 'demeanors, or perhaps Disloyalty. I
 'would hear you to that Point, that I
 'may compare it with other Parcels of
 'my Intelligence. Sir (says the Keeper)
 'I will go on directly with you. An-
 'other perhaps would blush, when I
 'tell you with what Heifer I plow;
 'but knowing mine Innocency, the
 'worst that can happen, is to expose
 'my self to be laugh'd at. Your High-
 'ness has often seen the Ambassador's
 'Secretary, *Don Francisco Carondelet* :
 'I have discover'd him to be a Wanton,
 'and a Servant to some of our *English*
 ('98.) 'Beauties, but above all to one of that
 'gentle Craft in *Mark-Lane*. A Wit
 'she is, and one that must be courted
 'with News and Occurrences at Home
 'and Abroad, as well as with Gifts.
 'I have a Friend that brib'd her in my
 'Name, to send me a faithful Convey-
 'ance of such Tidings, as her *Para-*
 '*mour Carondelet* brings to her. All
 'I instructed the Duke in, came out of
 'her Chamber. And she hath well
 'earn'd

‘earn’d a piece of Plate or two from
 ‘me, and shall not be unrecompenc’d
 ‘for this Service, about which your
 ‘Highness doth use me, if the Drab
 ‘can help me in it. Truly, Sir, this is
 ‘my Dark Lanthorn, and I am not
 ‘asham’d to enquire of a *Dalilah* to
 ‘resolve a Riddle; for in my Studies
 ‘of *Divinity*, I have glean’d up this
 ‘Maxim, *Licet uti alieno Peccato*;
 ‘tho’ the Devil make her a Sinner, I
 ‘may make good use of her Sin. *Tea*,
 ‘(says the Prince merrily) *do you deal*
 ‘*in such Ware?* In good faith, Sir (says
 ‘the Keeper) I never saw her Face.
 And so this Conference ended.

Since the Keeper had gone thus far *A signal Instance of the Keeper's Policy.*
 in this Intrigue, he was resolv’d to go
 through with it, and to sift the Mat-
 ter to the Bottom; which he knew
 he should never be able to do, except
 he had an Opportunity of pumping
 the Secretary *Francisco*, who had (by
 the Duke’s Orders) been forbid the
 Keeper’s House above a Month since.
 If he should meerly send for him, with-
 out any pretence, it would look (he
 thought) a little suspicious, and then
 the Secretary would be much upon
 the Reserve, and not open himself so
 freely.

freely. As the Keeper was musing upon this Difficulty, he chopt upon this lucky Thought: He orders his Purfivant Captain *Toothbie*, to seize upon an *English* Priest lodging in *Drury-Lane*, whom *Francisco* (as the Keeper knew) lov'd intirely. The poor Secretary, as soon as he heard of his Friend's Misfortune, was in a woful Taking, knowing the Law, and how severe the *Parliament* then sitting would be, if he should be brought to his Trial. He had been banish'd the Keeper's House long since, and he knew no body else, that was able to assist him in his Friend's behalf. Preft with these Difficulties, he saw it was no time, in a Matter of so great concern, to be over-modest, and to stand upon Punctilios: so he sent an humble Request to the Lord Keeper, to be admitted to him that Day, tho' he should never see his Face again. With a seeming Unwillingness, it was granted him; but then he must be very private, and not venture before eleven at Night, and then to come by the Back-door of the Garden, where a Servant should recieve him. So at his Hour he came, and at first sight of his Lordship breaks
out

out abruptly, *That nothing but a Matter as dear unto him as his Life, should have forc'd him to break Rule, to offend his Lordship with his presence.* And then in a very passionate manner he begs that he would obtain his Friend's Enlargement for him, who was newly taken up. *And would you have me (says the Keeper) run such a Hazard, to set a Priest at Liberty, a Dead Man by our Statutes, when the Eye of the Parliament is so vigilant upon the Breach of Justice, especially in this kind, to the sadding of our Godly Men, who detest them that creep here out of Seminaries, above all Malefactors, because they come with an Intent to pervert them, who have liv'd in the Bosom of our Church.* My Lord (says Francisco) 'let not the Dread of this Parliament 'trouble you; for I can tell you, if 'you have not heard it, that it is upon 'Expiration. *By this means the Keeper was got into the Out-Works of the Project, and play'd so artificially with the Secretary, that he soon took the Main Fortress.* He kept him with him till Two in the Morning; by which time he had pick'd out of him the Heads of all the Articles in the Paper convey'd before

fore into the King's Hand. And after this, to gratify him, he calls for the Pursivant (who was at hand) and orders him immediately to free the Priest, but upon this Condition, that he should cross the Seas that Day, or the next, that so he might secure himself from danger in what he had done: And then the Lord Keeper and *Don Francisco* parted with much shew of Love on both sides, each having compass'd his Designs. By this time (I make account) my Reader cannot but smile, to see how dextrously the whole Bus'ness was manag'd; and how prettily and innocently too a Person of neat Wit may carry on his own Interest, when you would think he was earnest about another Man's Bus'ness; so consistent are two contrary Motions at the same time in Policy, as well as in the Workings of Nature.

*The Keeper
having discovered
Iniola's
Plot, acquaints the
Prince with
it.
Cabal. p.
300.*

But to make an End of our Story: Soon as *Francisco* was gone, the Keeper fell to Recollecting the whole Conference that had pass'd between them. As fast as it occur'd, he lay'd it down in Writing, and slept never a wink that Night, nor stirr'd out of the Room till Seven in the Morning;
by

by which time he had drawn up a fair Copy of the whole Matter; which he presented to the Prince immediately in St. James's, and told him. *He had the Viper and her Brood in a Box.* Upon this the Prince was for posting away for Windsor: Nay, Sir (says the Keeper) let your Highness be pleas'd to take my Petition along with you: Where is it? says the Prince. In my Mouth, replies he: for I humbly beg, that you will conceal me in all that I have done in this Matter; and as you tender my Life, to keep the Knowledge of this from your Father. I have committed two great Crimes in a Sworn Counsellor; First, to search into the King's Counsels, which he would should not be opened; Secondly, when I have found them out, to discover them, tho' to your Highness. So the Prince parting with him, gave him assurance of Secresy; and coming to Windsor, he shews Buckingham the Papers. After which, they both desire immediate Admittance to his Majesty, which being granted, they present the Writing to him. He read it all deliberately, and often stopping, would say, 'Tis well, very well; and an enlivening Spirit danc'd in his Eyes. Then he embrac'd

The King is reconcil'd to the Prince and Duke.

brac'd his Son and *Buckingham*, protesting, he was very sorry, that a parcel of Traytors should ever make him jealous of them; but now that all was right again. *And that you may know* (says his Majesty) *how little you shall pay me for Reconciliation, I ask no more, but to tell me who is your Engineer, that struck these Sparks out of the Flint, and lighted the Candle, to find the Groat that was lost.* The Prince was silent, and the Duke vow'd he knew not the Author. *Well* (says the King) *I have a good Nostril, and will answer mine own Question; My Keeper had the main Finger in it; I dare swear it was he that bolted the Flower, and made it up into this Paist.* Sir (says the Prince) *I was precluded by my Promise not to reveal him, but I never promis'd to tell a lye for him: Your Majesty hath hit the Man.* And GOD do him good for it (says the King) *I need not tell you both what you ow him for his Service; and he hath done himself this Right with me, that I discern his Sufficiency more and more* So by this Discovery the Keeper did not only do a signal Service to the Prince and Duke, but likewise to his Majesty; who 'tis ten
to

to one had quarrelled out-right with his *Parliament*, had he not been thus convinc'd of his groundless Fears.

You may gather from these and some other Passages, in this Part of the Life, how prudent and how serviceable a Counsellor he was to his Majesty, and to his great Patron and first Raiser, the Duke of *Buckingham*. And now I am upon this Part of his Character, I will give you an Instance or two more of his Services to the Duke: by which put altogether, you may see how little he deserv'd the usage he afterwards receiv'd from his Hands.

In the Year 1622. the *Jesuits* had made (what they very much coveted) a *Profelyte* of the Countess of *Buckingham*; and upon this the People were jealous that there was danger of the Duke's being influenc'd by his Mother, and so that from the Duke, the Contagion would seize his Majesty, and at last from the King, spread it self among the People. The Lord Keeper saw plainly how these Conclusions affected the People, and multiplied their Discontents; which, for ought any one knew, might gather such a Head, as to prove fatal in the ensuing *Parliament*.

The Countess of Buckingham turns a Papist. Cypr. Ang. p. 100. (171.)

(172.)
*The Keeper's Advice
 to the Duke
 about his
 Mother.*

Therefore to secure his Majesty, and the Duke especially from being suspected, he advises him thus. 'It is time
 'to let your Lordship know, That by
 'the Countess your Mother's Depart-
 'ing from our Church, the Mouth of
 'Clamour is open'd; That now the
 'Recusants have a potent Advocate to
 'plead for their Immunity, which will
 'increase their Number. When this is
 'bandy'd in the High and popular Court
 'by Tribunitial Orators, what a Dust
 'will it raise? Therefore to satisfy the
 'People, your Mother must be invited
 'or provoked to hear Debates between
 'Learned Men, speaking to those Points
 'of Controversy that have stagger'd
 'her. Let her Ladiship bring her Cham-
 'pions with her. Entertain her with
 'many of these Conferences: let them
 'be solemn as can be devis'd, the King
 'himself being ever present at the Di-
 'sputes; and the conflux of Great Per-
 'sons, as thick as the Place will permit.
 'Let your Lordship's Industry and Ear-
 'nestness be conspicuous, to catch at
 'every Twig of Advantage, much more
 'to give Applause to every solid Rea-
 'son, which may bring your Mo-
 'ther Home to a Sound Mind again.

If

'If her Ladiship recovers of her Un-
 'stableness by these Applications, you
 'have won a Soul very precious to you,
 'and will raise your self up into the
 'Fame of a sincere *Protestant*. But
 'if the Light within her be Darkness,
 'and that she frustrate all Hopes of her
 'Reparation, the Notice of your Lord-
 'ship's pious Endeavours will fill the
 'Kingdom with a good Report. The
 Duke follows the Advice; the Con-
 ferences are set on foot, and his Ma-
 jesty was Superintendent at them. Laud, Wil-
 liams and
 White dis-
 pute against
 Fisher the
 Jesuit.
Fisher the *Jesuit* being the Lady's
 Champion; he was oppos'd strongly
 by Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlisle*,
 but especially by Dr. *Laud* (as may be
 seen by the Controversy publish'd af-
 ter) Bishop of *St. David's*; and the
 Lord Keeper (says his cold Friend Dr. Cypr. Ang.
 p. 101.
Heylyn) put in a Word or two some-
 times: But if we credit Bishop *Hacket*,
 in the Second Conference, the Lord
 Keeper manag'd a Formal Dispute
 with *Fisher*, as *White* did in the First,
 and *Laud* did in the Third. And why
 we have nothing of his extant con-
 cerning this Controversy (as we have
 from both the other) Bishop *Hacket*
 gives us no Reason; except we will

- be fatisfy'd with what he fays of the Keeper in another place, and upon another Occasion; *That he never wrote any thing with Intention to let the World fee it, unlefs neceffity constrain'd him.*
- (173.) But for all the great Abilities and Learning of the Difputants on our fide, the Lady remain'd ftill unconverted; neverthelefs the Duke gain'd his Point, and the Event was as the Keeper foretold it.

What I am going to mention next, if remembred by my Reader when he comes to the next Part, will give fome fmall Infight into the Reafons of his declining in the Duke's Favour: For tho' it was on the Keeper's fide a fincere piece of Friendship, yet 'tis a *Queftion* whether the Duke took it as fuch. *Buckingham*, you know very well, had a Grudge againft *Spain*; to fatisfy which he muft needs make War upon it. All that he wanted was Money, to maintain the War; and he faw no speedy way of raifing fuch vaft fums as he needed, but by compaffing the fale of fome of the Crown-Lands; which he was refoly'd to endeavour. The Keeper was at this time newly recover'd from a desperate Fever and Flux,

(102.)
*The Keeper
 diffwades
 the Duke
 from selling
 the
 Crown-
 Lands.*

Flux, and durst not venture Abroad; therefore so soon as he heard what dangerous Courses the Duke was falling into, he sends him the following Letter, dated *Octob. 21. 1623.*

May it please your Grace,

I Hear a Whispering, rather than a Report, out of *Westminster-Hall*, that some great Alteration is presently to be made of the small Remainder of his Majesty's or rather the Crown-Land. Altho' I know not certainly, being unemploy'd and unprofitable, whether I ought to take notice hereof at all, or what to advise; yet presuming upon that Favour I have ever found, and of late, as much as ever with your Grace, I have sent you this Ticket to read and burn. If there be any Resolution taken for the general Alteration of the Crown-Lands, yet this is not a convenient time to go about it.

First, Because there is not yet a Lord Treasurer, that it may be Christned to be his Act.

Secondly, Because it hath not been debated at the Council-Table; for

‘want of whose Advice, it will be appropriated to be your Grace’s Act.

‘*Thirdly*, It cannot be ripe for Execution, till the next Session of *Parliament* is dissolved; for otherwise it will undoubtedly serve as an Excuse for not granting Subsidies.

‘But setting those considerations of Delay aside, I humbly desire your Grace, that no Universal Alteration may be made of the Tenure of the Crown-Lands.

‘And *First*, Because the Money got thereby will be much, and will instantly be gone.

‘*Secondly*, The Infamy in Chronicles will be eternal upon our most Gracious Master.

‘*Thirdly*, The Prince cannot cordially assent thereunto; or if he do, it is impossible (his Wisdom considered) but that hereafter he should repent him, and much abhor the Authors and Actors of this Counsel.

‘*Lastly*, If the Prince should be of the same Mind with his Father, yet their Successors will have good pretences to prosecute everlastingly the Names and Posterities of all such Advisers.

Not

Nor did the Freedom of the Keeper's Advice rest here; for when the Duke was much about the same time (in prosecution of his Designs to raise Money) set on to procure a sale of some Church-Lands, he then came out of his Chamber, to dissuade his Lordship from it by all means. But altho' the Keeper prevail'd for the present with his Arguments, yet one may reasonably conclude, he got but little Good-will at the bottom from the Duke for all his Pains: for Great Men generally take wholsom Counsels, as one would a bitter Draught: We cannot help making four Faces at it, tho' we know it is for our Good. And thus I have done with the Keeper, consider'd in every Respect as a Statesman. And I shall only add a few Things more, that happen'd towards the latter end of King *James's* Reign, which to avoid Confusion I am forc'd to insert here by themselves.

The peaceful Reign of King *James* drew toward a Conclusion; when the Treaty about the Marriage with *France* was first set on foot. The Business had gone on for some time, before the L. Keeper's Advice was sought for. Ne-

(203, 204, &c.)
The Keeper
dissuades
the Duke
from sell-
ing Church
Lands.

(209.)
A Treaty
of Marri-
age with
France.
An. 1624.

*The Keeper
gets our Li-
turgy tran-
slated into
French.*

(210.)

*The Keeper
entertains
the French
Ambassa-
dors.*

vertheless, as he studied the *Spanish* Language during that Negotiation, so now he took a *Frenchman* to be his Servant, and to assist him in attaining the *French*. And as in the former Treaty he had order'd a Translation of our Liturgy into *Spanish* by *Taxeda*, and printed it at his own cost; so now he got it turn'd into *French* by *Monf. Delaun*, Minister then of the *French* Church in *Norwich*. The Ambassadors to our Court from *France* were the Marquess *Fiatte*, the Great Financer, and Monsieur *Villoclare*, one of the Principal Secretaries. They had Audience from the King at *Cambridge*; who (after their Return to *London*) sent a Message to the L. Keeper to entertain them and their Train, upon the Wednesday following; which (according to their Computation by the *New Style*) was *Christmas* Day with them. So the Keeper sent to invite them to Supper with him: And the Entertainment was prepar'd in the *Jerusalem-Chamber* at *Westminster* College. But before Supper, he gave them first an *Episcopal Col-lation*; for the Ambassadors with all their Attendance were brought in at the North-Gate of the Abby, which was

was stuck with Torches every where within and without. At the Door of the Quire, the Keeper desir'd their Lordships to go in, and seat themselves for a while, assuring them that nothing should be done that might be in the least offensive to them. So the Ambassadors with their Train fill'd the Stalls, where they continued about half an Hour, while Choiristers in their richest Habits, sung three Anthems; during which time they all stood uncover'd, excepting Monsieur *Villoclare*.

While a Verse was playing, the Keeper presented the Ambassadors, and those of the best Quality that were with them, with our Liturgy in their own Language; saying at the Delivery of the Books, 'That their Lordships at their Leisure might read in that Book, in what Form of Holiness our Prince worship'd God; wherein he durst say, nothing favour'd of any Corruption of Doctrine, much less of Heresy, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess *Henrietta*. After this, when they went out, they took all their Books along with them, except *Villoclare*, and his was brought after him, as if he had forgot it.

There

*An Abbot
has the Cu-
riosity to be
present at
our Divine
Service.*

(211.)

*And he ap-
proves of
our Wor-
ship.*

There was at this Time present a Gentleman that held an Abbacy in a Lay-Capacity; who, after he had read over our *Prayer-Book*, had a great Mind to be present in *Westminster* Abby, upon *Christmas* Day in the Morning, that he might see and hear how we solemniz'd that great Feast, for which we were so much blam'd Abroad. Whereas our *Common-Prayer Book*, tho' it was not imbroidered so thick with Ceremonies, yet he thought it wanted not such as might give a Decency to our Service. But least he might give Offence to any of his own Party, he desir'd he might be plac'd where no Body could see him, and that he might have an Interpreter of the Liturgy to assist him. The Lord Keeper was forward to meet him in his Request; and a place was contriv'd a-loft for him, with a Lattice and Curtains to conceal him. His Lordship perform'd all the Service of the Day himself, that it might be done with greater Decency. And after, when they came to discourse about it, the Abbot said, he perceiv'd that we had been basely traduc'd, and that all he had heard of us was false. 'And tho'

‘I deplore your Schism (says he) from
 ‘the *Catholick* Church, yet I should
 ‘bare false Witness, if I did not confess,
 ‘that your Decency, which I observ’d
 ‘at that holy Duty, was very allowable
 ‘in the Consecrator and Receivers.
 So, after some further Conferences (212.)
 upon these Matters, they parted with
 mutual Smiles and Embraces. I have
 dwelt the longer upon this Narra-
 tion, to shew not only the Credit that
 was done to our Church and Liturgy
 by the Keeper, but likewise to let my
 Reader see, what little Reason there is
 to suspect him for one that stood not
 well affected to our Church Discipline.

As the Court of *Spain*, during the Treaty with them, took the Oppor-
 tunity of Mediating in behalf of the *Papists* in *England*; so likewise now
 Mr. *Villoclare* (a great Zealot) was set
 on by them, to make large and unrea-
 sonable Demands in Favour of them, and
 to press the granting of his Requests
 home, as one of the main Conditions to
 compleat the Match. The Courtiers
 perceiving the Eagerness of *Villoclare*
 to obtain his Ends, and being not will-
 ing to expose themselves to his Displea-
 sure, shifted him off from themselves,
 and

Villoclare
petitions
for Immu-
nities for
the Papists.

(213.)

142 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

and told him, That they could give no positive Answer to his Demand, till he had spoken with the L. Keeper, whose Duty it was to examine such things upon his peril, which were fit, or not fit for the King's Conscience, Honour and Safety, before the Great Seal were put to any Thing. And this gave oc-

The Conference is all in Bishop Hacket, p. 213, to 222.

casion to the Famous long Debate between the Keeper and the *French* Ambassador, whercin the Keeper gave him such solid Reasons against the Dispensing with our Penal Laws against *Romish* Priests. A Copy of which Conference the King order'd the Keeper to draw up for him; which he did accordingly, it being the last Present he made him in that kind. Which Papers, when his Majesty had perus'd them, gave him (as he us'd to say) more Satisfaction than he could have expected.

(222.)

The King falls sick.

The King now perceiving some Indisposition in his Health, retires to *Theobalds* for fresh Air, and to divert himself from Bus'ness. On Tuesday, being the 22. of *March*, the L. Keeper receiv'd Notice in a Letter from the Court, that it was fear'd his Majesty's Sickness was Mortal. Upon this he comes

comes to *Theobalds*, and presenting himself before the King, he endeavoured to divert him, and bring him to chearful Discourse, but all in vain.

The Keeper attends him.

So he continued by his Bed-side till Mid-night, but found no comfort.

And next Morning, after the Consultation of the *Physicians*, he saw no hopes at all left; so that immediately

(like a faithful Chaplain) he desir'd

of the Prince, that he might acquaint

his Father with his weak Condition,

and put him in Mind both of his Mortality and Immortality.

And having the Prince's Consent, he went into his

Majesty's Chamber; and kneeling

Advertises him of his Death.

down, told his Majesty, 'That he knew

'he should neither displease him, nor

'discourage him, if he brought *Isaiah's*

'Message to *Hezekiah*, to set his House

'in order; for he thought his Days

'to come would be but few in this

'World. *I am satisfied* (replies the

King) *and I pray you assist me to make*

me ready to go away hence to CHRIST,

whose Mercies I call for, and I hope

to find them. From this time the

Keeper watch'd with his Majesty con-

tinually, and never so much as put off

his Cloaths, to go to Bed, till after

his

and told him, That they could give no positive Answer to his Demand, till he had spoken with the L. Keeper, whose Duty it was to examine such things upon his peril, which were fit, or not fit for the King's Conscience, Honour and Safety, before the Great Seal were put to any Thing. And this gave oc-

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And next Morning, after the Consultation of the *Physicians*, he saw no hopes at all left; so that immediately (like a faithful Chaplain) he desir'd of the Prince, that he might acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in Mind both of his Mortality and Immortality. And having

Advertises him of his Death.

the Prince's Consent, he went into his Majesty's Chamber; and kneeling down, told his Majesty, 'That he knew 'he should neither displease him, nor 'discourage him, if he brought *Isaiah's* 'Message to *Hezekiah*, to set his House 'in order; for he thought his Days 'to come would be but few in this 'World. *I am satisfied* (replies the King) *and I pray you assist me to make me ready to go away hence to CHRIST, whose Mercies I call for, and I hope to find them.* From this time the Keeper watch'd with his Majesty continually, and never so much as put off his Cloaths, to go to Bed, till after his

144⁹ *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

his Royal Master's Death; which was visible enough in his Looks, on Sunday Night, when he return'd to *Westminster*. His whole Bus'ness was Night and Day (except when the *Physicians* compos'd his Majesty to Rest) to pray, and read, and to discourse about Repentance, Faith, Remission of Sins, Resurrection, and Eternal Life. This was the Preparation on Wednesday, for the Blessed Sacrament on Thursday. Upon Friday his Majesty grew sensibly weaker; so that now the Keeper stir'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewise to keep off some of the *Romish* Church, that crept much about the Chamber-door; whom as a Privy-Counsellor he commanded to keep at greater Distance. Being rid of these, he was now continually in Prayer, while the King linger'd on; and at last his Soul departing, the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands. Thus died King *James* at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of *March*, being Sunday. From thence his Body was brought to *Somerfet-House*, and carried thence in great State, on Saturday the 7th of May to *St. Peter's Church* in *West-*

The King dies.

Cypr. Ang.

p. 130.

An. 1625.

Westminster, where it was solemnly
interr'd: And the Funeral Sermon The Text
 was out
 of the II
 of Chron.
 c. 9. v. 29.
 30. & part
 of 31.
preach'd by the Lord Keeper Williams,
and printed not long after, by the Name
of Great-Britain's Solomon.

Thus I have at last brought the L.
 Keeper *Williams* through great Ho-
 nours, and much Fatigue and Bus'ness
 to the Period at once of King *James's*
 Reign, and his own Prosperity. And
 (if *the Living Man* may with any rea-
 son *complain*) well had it been for him
 too, had he never liv'd to see those
 Days, which the following Scene will
 represent to my Reader.

The End of the Second Part.

K

An



*An Account of his Fall, and
his Troubles.*

PART III.

*The severity of the
L. Keeper's
Fortune.*

IF so be that outward Things and Circumstances (which, because they are not in our Power, should therefore be look'd upon as not belonging to us) are of any real Force to render a Wife and a Great Man, either Happy or Miserable; I should count him of all Men, the most wretched, that is cast down from the height of Prosperity into an adverse Fortune, there to entertain himself with the ungrateful Reflexion of what (to his Sorrow now) he had once been: And I should think him to be envied for his Happiness, who after much Toil and Trouble in the Beginning, and all unusual Discouragements, did at the last by the meer Force and Strength of his own undaunted Resolution and
Cou-

Courage break (like the *Sun* from a Cloud) through all Oppositions, and surmount all Difficulties. For the Remembrance of a Danger past, and overcome, must be as grateful to us, as the Apprehension of one to come, is terrible. So that if the Lord Keeper *Williams* had been a Man capable of being dejected, he lay under all the Disadvantages in the World. For, at his first setting out, from the Time he came to *Cambridge*, quite to the End of King *James's* Reign, Fortune seem'd to Court him all along, and to gratify him in every Thing; whereas now (tir'd, one would think, with her overfondness of him before) she treats him with all the hard Usage, as if she had mark'd him out, to give all Men in him a notorious proof of her great Inconstancy. But before we give an Account of his Troubles, it will be but convenient to look back a little into the former Reign, and try if we can search into the Springs of *Buckingham's* Hatred to him, which was the first and principal Cause of his overthrow.

We have had occasion before to hint how fickle *Buckingham* was, and how apt to fall out with his greatest Fa-

*The Rea-
sons of Buc-
kingham's
Breach
with Wil-
liams.*

avourites: The Reason of which in all probability was his great Desire to oblige every Body; upon which Account he would often be making such Requests for others, to those he had rais'd to any Office, as they could not grant either in Honour or Justice. And thus he was often wont to trouble the Lord Keeper, who never resisted any of his Commands, when he could safely and honestly obey them; as appears from what he writ to him about the Cause of Sir *John Michel*,

Cabal. p.
291.

Aug. 8. 1622. GOD is my Witnes, I have never denied either Justice or Favour (which was to be justified) to this Man, or any other, that had the least Relation to your good and most Noble Mother; and I hope your Lordship is perswaded thereof. And the Countess, his Mother, hath been heard to say, 'That the Lord Keeper had sufficient Reason sometimes not to comply with her Son: and that she never knew him disagree, but that his Counsels were wise, and well grounded; ever tending to the Marquess's Honour, Safety and Prosperity. But then, that he often offended her Son with Reprehensions, that were too bold and vehement.

(108.)

‘hement. And, indeed, it was his Humour to be very angry with his best Friends, when they would not be perswaded to their own Good. So that it was neither height of Spirit, nor yet Pride, that made him odious to those that rais’d him; but rather his Honesty in not permitting them to attain to those Ends by him, which they unjustly requir’d of him. And this was the Occasion of *Buckingham’s* Quarrel against him; who before the End of *Michaelmas* Term in the Year 1622. (when *Williams* had not been above a Twelve-month in Office) let fall some Expressions of his Disliking to the Lord Keeper, and was in his Looks very much alter’d towards him. All which the Keeper took no notice of, but prudently affected to seem ignorant of the whole Matter; for the only way to exasperate an Adversary is to let him know, that you look upon him as such; whereas if you treat him as a Friend, ’tis possible he may be gain’d upon.

Wilson.
Hist. of Gr.
Brit. p. 196.

(197.)

As the Lord-Keeper declin’d in the good Opinion of the Duke, so Bishop *Laud*, he grew more and more every day in Favour; insomuch that when

The Occa-
sion of the
Falling out
betwixt
Laud and
Williams.
Cypr. Ang.
p. 113.

Buckingham went over into *Spain* with the Prince, he left the Bishop to be his Agent at Court. These Accidents, together with Mis-understandings, and Mis-representations on both sides from Tale-bearers and Busie-bodies, seem to have given the first occasion to those Jealousies and Heats, that afterwards arose betwixt these Two great and unfortunate Prelates. And since we are at best left but to our Guessees in this matter (it being so diversly represented, as Passion or Interest sways) it were but Modesty as well as Justice (due to such sacred Memories) in us, at this distance of time, to search no farther, but to be charitable in our surmises, so long as we are certain, from the main History of both their Actions, that they were Men good and serviceable in their Generation. And to what purpose should we keep their Names at Enmity here upon Earth, who we may be sure, are long since join'd in mutual Peace and Love in Heaven; where seeing one another's Thoughts by Intuition (which prevents all Mistakes) they conclude that nothing but this Gross Veil of
Flesh

See Whar-
ton's Pre-
face, and
Bishop
Laud's Di-
ary at
Octob 3.
1623.

Flesh could have so disguis'd their Sentiments, as to make them seem at Variance, when at the same time they drove both with all their Might to the same great End, Namely the Glory of God and the Establish'd Happiness of our Church and Nation.

But to proceed in our Discovery of the Duke's Resentments towards the Keeper. When his Grace was in *Spain*, it is not to be doubted but the Lord-Keeper's Letters of Instruction, tho' Well Design'd, were not so well taken: and his often Desiring and Advising him to be Reconcil'd to the Earl of *Bristol*, (one that he ever hated) and to proceed according to his Counsels, as being a Most able States-Man, but above all others Experienc'd in the Court of *Spain*; this went much against the Grain with the Duke, and the Keeper might as well have told him, that *Bristol* was a Wiser Man than his Grace. At this very time too it was told the Duke (but upon what Grounds I find no where) that *Williams*, his Creature, made it his Business now in his Absence to Undermine him with

A further Account of the Duke's Hatred to Williams (147.150.) Cabal. p. 97.

Cypr. Angl. p. 113.

(108) his Majesty. Whereas the quite contrary is Evident, in that the Keeper endeavour'd all he could to excuse his Miscarriages in *Spain*, and to preserve him Intire in the King's

[18] (148) Favour. But indeed he did drive on a Design quite contrary to *Buckingham's* towards the latter end of the *Treaty*: For the Duke strove all he could to Dissolve it, and the Keeper, according to his Majesty's Commands, Studied Night and Day how to farther it and bring it to Perfection. And in truth the first Accusation that *Buckingham* laid to his Charge about this Matter was, that his Lordship had told the King, who those Gentlemen were, that importun'd his Grace by their Expresses sent into *Spain*, to break or hinder the Treaty to the utmost of his Power; of which Suspicion the Keeper protested upon his Salvation that he was not Guilty. And when the Earl of *Rutland* (the Duke's Father in Law) undertook to clear the Keeper from this Objection, the Answer that his Grace return'd was this, *Whensoever I disagree with him, he will prove himself to be in the Right; and tho' I could*
never

never Detect him hitherto to be Dishonest, I am afraid of his Wit. At which See The Lord-Keeper's Letters in the Cabala.
Answer I admire, when I consider, that all the Keepers Letters to the Duke
about this time and before, are full of the most sincere and hearty expressions of Love and Service. Let Cabal.
God (says he) suffer me no longer to p. 286.
be, than I shall be True, Plain, Faithful and Affectionately Respectful of your
Lordship. And in a Letter Dated Feb. Cabal.
2. 1623. he says, I never harbour'd in p. 298.
this Breast one Thought of Opposition to hurt your Grace, from the first Hour I saw your Face: But how Honest
and True soever the Keeper might be, yet the Duke was highly Jealous of him; and this the Keeper knew very well, who was assur'd that my Lord Cabal.
Mandevil had a Letter from Spain, p. 299.
signifying, that the first Action his Grace would Imbark himself in, when he came over, should be to Displace the Keeper. Add to this, that after [18]
the Prince and Duke came over into (167, 168, 169.)
England, Williams lost yet more of the Duke's Favour, by declaring his Opinion in some Consultations quite contrary to his Grace. And he Vow'd at the same time, as he should have

God to be his Protector, that he would suffer all the Obloquy of the World, before he would be drawn to the least Ingratitude against his Lordship; but when the King ask'd his Judgment he
 (168.) *must be True and Faithful.* For which Loyalty and rigid Honesty the Duke defied the Keeper to his Face, and Threatned his Ruin in the Presence of Many. And if he promis'd an ill Turn to any one he would be sure to make his Words good, if he could. But the King was so Conscious of the Lord Keeper's Worth and great Abilities, that during his Reign the Duke's Displeasure could avail nothing to his Ruin, tho' he had several times attempted it; And his Majesty's Orders were, that they should both Agree and Unite jointly in their Services for him.

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
 B. XI.
 p. 125.

[5]

*Some other
 probable
 causes of
 the Duke's
 hatred a-
 gainst the
 Keeper.*

(168)

There remains unmention'd yet a little accident or two, that perhaps might sharpen the Duke's Resentments something more. It was I believe the harshest Expression that his Majesty ever us'd concerning *Buckingham*, (whom it touch'd to the Quick) what he spake to the Earl of *Carlile* in a Malancholy Mood, That
 if

if he had sent *Williams* into *Spain* with his Son, he had kept Heart's-Ease and Honour, both which he wanted at that time. And it was taken as no small indignity by his Grace, that, the first time the Lord Keeper came into the King's Presence, after his Highness's Return into *England* (which was a little before *Christmas*) his Majesty looking Intently upon him, said thus to the Prince, *Charles there's the Man that makes us keep a merry Christmas*. His Highness looking as if he understood not his Father; *Why. 'tis he* (says the King) *that Labour'd more Dextrously than all my Servants beside to bring you safe hither, to keep Christmas with me, and I hope you are sensible of it*. And after this, in *Christmas* Time his Majesty of his own accord, without any Solicitation caus'd an Act of Council to be Entred, That the Arch-Bishoprick of *York* should be Confer'd upon him at the next Vacancy. For which the Lord Keeper most humbly thank'd his Majesty, *That he was Pleas'd to think of him, when his Majesty knew best, that he thought not of himself*. This to be sure

sure was not taken well by the Duke, who thinking that *Williams* began now to rise without his help, was resolv'd, if possible, to pull him down: which we may reasonably conclude, from what this Great Favourite told Sir *Fr.*

Da. Lloyd's
Life of Ar.
Williams.

Bacon, when he advanc'd him: *That if he did not ow his Preferment always to his Favour, he should ow his Fall to his Frown.*

The Keeper's Enemies not able to hurt him in K. J. Reign.

(190, 191,
192, 194.)

Rush. Coll.
p. 157.

These are the Principal Reasons, that I can meet with, of *Buckingham's* Breach with *Williams*, which made him endeavour his Ruin, and set others to effect the same in the Time of King *James*; but all to no purpose, for then the Keeper's Interest was so strong at Court, and his Worth so well known, that all Attempts against him were but like High Winds to a sturdy Oak, by the malicious Assistance of which it takes deeper Root. But what *Buckingham* could not compass with the Father, he soon obtain'd under the Son; and that is remarkable in *Buckingham* (a thing very rare) that the great Favour he had with the former King, should now be doubled upon him by his Successor. Having thus clear'd my way before me, I go on to what
con-

concerns the Lord Keeper in this new Reign.

Our Constitution allowing of no K. Charles
proclaim'd
King. Cessation in the Government, and for that Reason looking upon the King as Immortal; Immediately upon the

Death of King *James, Charles* the March 27.
An. 1625.
Frankl.
An. p. 107. *First* was proclaim'd King; who in the Evening on the same Day came from *Theobalds* to *St. James's*. And

the Day following he sent for the L. Keeper, to him; who found his Ma-

[4]

jesty and the Duke of *Buckingham* involv'd in a multiplicity of Affairs;

with whom, together with Bishop *Laud* the King consulted much in all the great Frankl. p.
108.

Concerns both of Church and State.

At this Time the Keeper was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon of the

Deceas'd King, and order'd too to provide a Sermon for the Coronation;

but (it seems) before that Time his Majesty's Mind was alter'd in that

Point. But the Chief Object of this present Consultation was the *Parliament*: and the King (desiring to have it sit speedily) was for issuing out no The Kee-
per's Ad-
vice to the
King about
the Parlia-
ment.

Writs to call a New one, but for continuing that, which met last in his Father's Time, and was prorogu'd till

Spring

*The Kee-
per's Ad-
vice taken
ill.*

[5.]

Spring. Upon this the Lord Keeper informed his Majesty, that the Old *Parliament* was dissolv'd of course by his Death, who first assembled them. Since therefore there must of Necessity be a New Choice, the King commanded the Keeper to send out Writs immediately, and not to lose a Day. To this the Keeper objected, That if such a hasty Summons were made, before his Majesty's best Friends and Servants had time to make their Interest in their respective Counties, Cities and Burroughs, they might be in danger of not being elected. But the King answer'd, *It was high time to have Subsidies granted, for maintaining of a War with the King of Spain, and the Fleet must go forth for that purpose in the Summer.* His Lordship durst not venture to contradict any further, because he knew not how it might be taken: But his Approbation of the King's Proposal was utter'd after so cold a Manner, that his Majesty turned away, and gave him leave to be gone. Nor did the King consult the Keeper at all about the Match now in Hand with *France*; and the Duke began to draw off from holding any Conference with

with him. So that from all these Prognosticks the Keeper could not choose but foresee, there was a Storm a gathering.

But he did not imagine, that his Plain-dealing would turn so soon to his Prejudice; for within two Days after news was brought him, that my Lord Duke had threatned in the presence of several to turn him out of his Office: And the *French* Ambassadors were some of the first that gave him notice of it. These things plainly intimated, that his Down-fall was not far off. And so apprehensive was he of it, that he gave warning to those that had any Dependance upon him, to make their Interest elsewhere, for his Service would soon stand them in no stead.

But as yet he kept his Place. And one of the first things he was imploy'd about was, to send forth his Majesty's Warrant for a suspension of Laws against the *Papists*, upon the Account of the Marriage with *France*. The Keeper saw, that it was not his time either to give his Advice, or to scruple his Majesty's Orders. But yet he made bold to interpose with his Advice soon after

The Keeper apprehensive of his Fall.

[6.]

He is ordered to pass two Warrants.

May 1.

1. Car.

[7.]

But he stops on.

May 23. after this, when he had a Warrant from his Majesty, to pass a Grant under the *Great-Seal*, for two Thousand Pounds, out of the Court of Wards, to my Lord *Conway*, for 21 Years to come. *The which I durst not* (says he) *for fear of infringing my Duty to your Majesty, and drawing some Danger upon my self, pass under the Great-Seal, before I had made to your most Excellent Majesty my most humble Representation of the Thing.* So the Reasons he gave with much ado prevail'd; but he made the Lord *Conway* his Enemy by this piece of Service.

Rush. Coll. p. 171. June 18. The Parl. meets. Now the *Parliament* meets at *Westminster*, and the King makes a Speech to them, *About the War for the Recovery of the Palatinate, wherein the last Parliament hadingag'd his Father; and for the Carrying on of which he wanted their Assistance.* After this, the Lord Keeper *Williams* made a very pertinent Speech to the same purpose; and not the Lord Keeper *Conventry*, as two of our great *Collectors* have mistaken: for *Williams* was not displac'd till some time after.

Frankl. &
Rushw.

The

The Plague at this time raging in London and Westminster, his Majesty was for having the Parliament adjourn'd to Oxford; and Buckingham was for forwarding this Motion, but Williams appear'd against it; saying, That it was not another Place but another Time, that must do his Majesty's Business for him. 'And the Pestilence had overspread the whole Land, so that no Man that travell'd knew where to lodge in safety; for which reason the Lords and Gentlemen would not take it kindly to be forc'd abroad in such a mortal Time; and 'tis likely when they come together, that they will Vote out of Discontent and Displeasure. That his Majesty was ill advis'd to give Offences, tho' small ones, in the beginning of his Reign. In the next place, it is to be considered, that the Parliament hath given two Subsidies at Westminster; and tho' they remove to Oxford, yet it is the same Session: and if they alledge that it is not usual for the House to give twice in a Session, (tho' I wish heartily they would) yet how shall we perswade them, out of their Custom, if they insist upon

He ac-
quaints the
King of the
Duke's E-
nemies.

'it? And it is not prudent in the King
'to run a probable hazard of a Denial.
To all this the Duke replied, *That pub-
lick Necessity might sway more than one
Man's Jealousie.* Hereupon the Keeper
requested, that he might speak a few
Words with the King in private; which
being granted, he told his Majesty, *That
the Lord Duke had Enemies in the
House of Commons, who had contriv'd
Complaints, and made them ready to be
prefer'd, and would spend the time at
Oxford about them.* And what Folly
it were to continue a Session, that had
no other Aim, but to bring the Duke
upon the Stage? But if your Majesty
think, that this is like a Hectick, quickly
known, but hardly cur'd; my humble
Motion is, that this Malady, or Malice
(call it which you will) may sleep till
after Christmas. For I hope to give such
Account by that time, by undertaking
with the chief Sticklers, that they shall
supersede from their Bitterness against
your great Servant; and that Passage
to your weighty Counsels shall be made
smooth and peaceable. And why do you
conceal this from Buckingham? Says the
King. Good Lord Sir (says the Keeper)
fain I would begin at that End, but he
will

will not hear me with Moderation. This discovery, which the Keeper made, 'tis thought, compleated the Duke's hatred against him, and hasten'd his Ruin; for his Grace now grown very jealous, (as is natural for one in Danger) in Defiance bid the Keeper and his Confederates do their worst; and desir'd that the *Parliament* might be continu'd, that he might clear himself. So dangerous is it to shew a great Man his Ruin, tho' he stands just upon the Brink of it; because he looks upon the first Discoverer, very often, as the Author of it.

But the Duke carried his Point, and the *Parliament* met at *Oxford*, on the first of *August*. On the very first Morning there was a Complaint made by a Western Knight, that he had seen a Pardon for six Priests, dated *July* the 12th: whereas on the 11th, the L. Keeper had promis'd in the King's Name before them all, that the Laws should be put in Execution against them. And for him, that was a Bishop, to set the Seal to such a Warrant; against his own profess'd Religion, was thought a burning shame. This Thing indeed was at first design'd to

[15.] insnare the Keeper, but it caught another. For the Warrant was brought twice to him, and he refus'd to pass it: At which the Duke of *Buckingham* mov'd the King, to command it to be seal'd in his sight at *Hampton-Court*: which when it came to be known, the *Odium* was taken off from the Keeper, and thrown upon the Duke.

*The Parl.
set against
the Duke.*

*The Kee-
per's Ad-
vice to him.*

[16.] And now the Duke's great places and Eminent Titles glar'd too much; and the People could no longer bear, that one Man should be so overcharg'd with Honours. While the *Parliament* bore thus hard upon the Duke, the Keeper, out of his great Fidelity to his Grace, intruded upon him, with the following Advice. 'My Lord, I come to you unsent for; and 'I fear to displease you: yet because 'your Grace made me, I must and will 'serve you, tho' you are one that will 'destroy that which you made. Let 'me perish; yet I deserv'd to perish 'ten times, if I were not as earnest as 'any Friend your Grace hath, to save 'you from perishing. You have brought 'the Two Houses hither, my Lord, 'against my Counsel. My Suspicion 'is confirm'd, that your Grace would
'suffer

'fuffer for it. What's now to be done,
 'but to wind up a Session quickly? The
 'Occasion is for you; because two Col-
 'ledges in the University, and eight
 'Houses in the City are visited with
 'the Plague. Let the Members be
 'promis'd fairly and friendly, that
 'they shall meet again after *Christmas*.
 'Requite the Injury done to you with
 'Benefits, and not Revenge: For no
 'Man, that is wise, will shew himself
 'angry with the People of *England*.
 'Confer one or two of your great Places
 'upon your safest Friends; so shall
 'you go less in Envy, and not less in
 'Power. At the Close of this Session
 'declare yourself to be the forwardest
 'to serve the King and Common-
 'wealth, and to give the *Parliament*
 'Satisfaction. Fear them not, when
 'they meet again in the same Body,
 'whose ill Affections I expect to mi-
 'tigate: But if they proceed, trust me
 'with your Cause, when it is trans-
 'mitted to the House of Lords, and
 'I will lay my Life upon it, to preserve
 'you from Sentence, or the least dis-
 'honour. To this all the Duke re-
 'plied was, *I will look whom I trust to,* The Duke
resents it.
 and so flung out of the Chamber with

Threats in his Countenance. Immediately upon this, *the Commons of this Parliament were censur'd at Woodstock, for Spiteful and Seditious: and therefore not fit to continue, but to be dissolv'd.* The Keeper hearing this, did all he could with Arguments, Tears and Supplications, to put a stop to such Proceedings; desiring his Majesty to remember, 'That in his hearing, his 'Blessed Father had charg'd him to call 'Parliaments often, and continue them, 'tho' they might sometimes offend him. 'But chiefly, Sir (says he) let it never be 'said, that you have not kept good 'Correspondence with your first *Parliament.* And the Keeper had almost all the Lords of the Council of the same Opinion with him in this Point; *Rush. Coll. p. 121.* but *Buckingham* was against it, and so the King to preserve his Favourite, dissolv'd the *Parliament* on the 12th of *August.*

[17.] The Duke was jealous that the L. Keeper was all along at the Bottom of the Proceedings against him in *Parliament*, and therefore now he charg'd him with it; and this Suspicion of Baseness and Ingratitude was so far credited by some, that they have not fail'd

fail'd to deliver it for a truth in Writing, to the great Detriment of his Good Name; did not the contrary evidently appear from a Paper, which he gave his Majesty on the 14th of *August*, an Abstract of which I shall give you here.

Heylyn in
his Observ.
on the Hist.
of K. Char.
p. 36.
H. Le-
strange
Reign of K.
Cha. p. 20.
21.

Reasons to satisfy your most Excellent Majesty concerning my Carriage all this last Parliament.

The Keeper
clears him-
self.

FIRST, *Negatively*, That I did
‘nothing disserviceably to your
‘Majesty, or the Duke. Secondly, I
‘did cross the Popular way, more
‘than any of the Council; which I
‘durst not have done, if I had intended
‘to run along with them. *Affirmati-*
‘*vely*, I offer'd my poor Service to your
‘Majesty, to execute any Directions
‘should be given me in private, and
‘waited several times at several places
‘upon your Majesty for that purpose;
‘but my Answer still was, You had
‘Nothing to say to me. I did the
‘like to my Lord Duke at *Oxford*, de-
‘siring his Lordship to send me his
‘Commands by any trusty Friend, and
‘I would serve him to the utmost of
‘my Power: his Grace said, He would

L 4

send

'send, but he never did. So that if I
 'had any Power in either House,
 'what use could I make of it, with-
 'out Directions? For it was not safe
 'for me to stickle, without Counte-
 'nance from your Excellent Majesty;
 'Because I know very well, I have a
 'great many Enemies in the House,
 'and those chiefly of the Duke's crea-
 'ting.. But nevertheless (I told the
 'Duke) If I might hear your Majesty
 'say, you would protect me in your
 'Service, I would venture then my Cre-
 'dit, and my Life, to manage what
 'should be entrusted to me, to the
 'uttermost. After which he never
 'brought me to your Majesty, nor
 'any Message from you. Discounte-
 'nanc'd therefore in these and several
 'other Points, and standing upon such
 'doubtful Terms, I durst not at this
 'time with any safety busy my self in
 'the House of *Commons*, with any
 'other than that measure of Zeal,
 'which was express'd by the rest of the
 'Lords of the *Privy-Council*. Gra-
 'cious and Dread Sovereign, if this
 'be not enough to clear me, let me
 'perish.

These

These Reasons satisfied his Majesty, ^{His Ruin} and defer'd his Destiny for Two ^{deferr'd.} months longer; tho' strong Interest was made to have it compleated now. Nor do I admire that the Duke should be so very hot in the Pursuit of this Man's Ruin, if what *Rushworth* Relates be true, that the Keeper at *Oxford* should tell *Buckingham* to his Face, *That he was Resolv'd to Stand upon his own Legs: If that be your Resolution* (said the Duke) *Look you Stand fast.* But since my Author quotes no Authority for this, and since all the Keeper's Behaviour otherwise, and his Letters to the Duke are full of the Humblest Submission that can be exprest, and shew not the least Resentments, I leave my Reader to give what Credit he thinks fit to this Narration. But within a Fortnight after, about the End of *August*, *Buckingham* at *Holdbery* in *New-Forest* cast *Williams* quite out of his Majesty's Favour; and at *Plimouth* in the Midst of *September* got an Irrevocable sentence to deprive him of his Office. If the Queen could have befriended him, he had stood still, for he was in

P. 198.

It could not be in May; as Bishop Hacket Mistakes, for she did not Land here till the 16th of June, says Stow, and others.
 [20.] Favour with her Majesty, by reason of the Speech, which he made to her in *French* at her coming to *Whitehall*. But it was impossible now for any thing to surmount the Importunity of the Duke, who was busy to invent some Charge to lay to the Keeper, that so he might at least have some Colour for all his Displeasure. And in *September*, when the King with his Court came to *Salisbury*, the Keeper was then at *Foxly* in *Barkshire*, Five Miles from *Windsor*; where he had notice given him, that after strict Examination of all his Actions since he first came into Office, the Old Matter was Renew'd, about his Endeavouring to set the *Parliament* against the Duke; which tho' only a jealous surmise, was yet affirm'd with all the Assurance of a substantial Truth. And to Strengthen it the more, they Added to it, that he had given evil Counsel to his Majesty, by Advising him to condescend too much from his Sovereignty, to a Compliance with his People. Upon this the Keeper, being hardly recover'd of an Ague at that time, sends a Letter to his Majesty on the 21st of

The Keeper accus'd of Treachery against the Duke.

Cypr, Angl. p. 139.

And of giving ill Counsel to the King.

He clears himself.

Septem-

September, to clear himself from these Imputations; which Letter if consulted, will satisfy an Impartial Person of the Keeper's great Integrity in the preceding *Parliament* both to the King and to the Duke. And when the Duke had seen the Letter, he perceiv'd his Accusations were much Invalidated. Therefore to Reinforce them, he and his Party thought the most likely way to succeed would be, to acquaint his Majesty, that they could charge the Keeper with his own Words, and what was more, with his Letters: but then before Proofs were made, he must first be Displac'd, for so long as he continu'd in Office, People would be afraid to Accuse him. But the Keeper coming himself to *Salisbury* about the first week in *October*, and hearing this, desir'd, the King and the Duke might know, that he would Answer to any Accusation in a Legal way; and that the World would soon see how Preposterous a way of proceeding it is first, to Punish and afterwards to Condemn: That the wrong done to him would soon startle others. For who that had

The Letter is in Bishop Hacket; but too long to be transcrib'd.
[21.]

The Duke attempts another Accusation against the Keeper.

But it takes no effect.

His Enemies not able to charge him with any Thing. Non perpetuus olim fuit honor Cancellarii, sed Triennalis, vel quadriennalis. Spelman. Gloss. See p. 74.

Court and Ch. p. 176.

had any thing to lose would think himself secure upon such Precedents? And these Considerations made his Adversaries lay their imperfect Designs aside, and bethink themselves how to Plot better, if they meant to Succeed. After this the best way they could think of was, not to pretend to any Accusations, but to let his Majesty barely recall the Great Seal from his Custody; because it was given to him at first upon a Triennial Trust, and no longer; which was no unusual Thing. And he had himself made such a Request (if you remember) to King *James*, when he first entred upon his Office, that no Lord Keeper might be continu'd above 3 Years. So that his Enemies could lay no Accusations to his Charge, and all his Crime was their Hatred and Malice. And this Account of the Matter is confirm'd even by that great Dealer in Scandal, whom I have had occasion to mention so often; who says, *that Williams's Ruin was determin'd not upon any known Crime, but upon Circumstances and Examinations to pick out Faults committed in his whole Life time.* Which,

con-

considering the Person it comes from, is more to the Lord Keeper's commendation, than if an unprejudic'd Pen had declar'd him wholly Innocent; as indeed he was in his Behaviour both to his Majesty and to the Duke, which was the only Crime pretended against him.

On the 15th of October, The Lord ^[22.] Conway came to the Lord Keeper's Lodgings in Salisbury with this Message: *That his Majesty understanding that his Father had taken a Resolution, that the Keeper of the Great Seal of England should continue but from Three Years to Three Years, and approving very well thereof, and being resolv'd to observe the Order during his own Reign, he expects that you should Surrender up the Seal by All-hallowtide next, alledging no other Cause thereof. And that having so done, you should retire your self to your Bishoprick of Lincoln.* 'To which the Keeper answer'd; I am his Majesty's Most humble Servant and Vassal, to be Com-manded by him in all Things whatsoever. The Great Seal is his Majesty's; and I will be ready to deliver up the same to any Man, that his

The Lord Conway acquaints the Keeper, that it was the King's Order he should give up the Seal.

The Keeper's Answer.

*A further
conference
betwixt
the Lord
Conway
and the
Keeper.*

his Majesty shall fend with his War-
rant to require it: And do heartily
thank God and his Majesty, that his
calling for the Seal is upon no other
Ground. Only this last Clause seem-
eth strange to me, that I should be
restrain'd to my Bishoprick, or any
Place else. And I humbly appeal to
his Majesty's Grace and Favour
therein: Because it is no Fault in
me, that his Majesty or his Father
hath made such a Resolution. Nor
do I dispute against it; although the
King, that dead is, continu'd me in
the Place after the Three Years en-
ded; and the King, that now is, deli-
ver'd me the Seal without any Con-
dition or Limitation of Time. And
therefore deserving no Restraint, I
humbly desire to be left to my Dis-
cretion, which I will so use as shall
be no way Offensive to his Ma-
jesty. To which the Lord Conway
replied; *I conceive it not to be a
restraint, but only to signify, that his
Majesty intends not to employ you at
the Table, but leaves you free to go to
your Bishoprick.* My Lord (says the
Keeper) I desire your favourable
Intercession for an Explanation of
that

'that Point. And I beseech your
 'Lordship to move his Majesty, that
 'I may attend upon him, to present
 'unto his Majesty Two humble Peti-
 'tions, the one concerning my Re-
 'putation, and the other my Main-
 'tenance; which I am the more con-
 'fident his Majesty will admit of, be-
 'cause I vow before God, I am not
 'Guilty of the least Offence against
 'his Majesty, and am ready to make
 'it good upon my Life. And I make
 'the like Protestation for any Un-
 'worthiness done against the Duke;
 'whose Hand peradventure may be
 'in this Business. At parting my
 'Lord *Conway* spake about the time
 'of Resignation; and I said it was all
 'one to me, sooner or later. Then
 'I ask'd his Lordship if I was re-
 'strain'd from the Board before the
 'delivering of the Seal? his Lorship
 'answer'd, *He knew of no such In-*
 'tent. And so we parted.

'The next day after, waiting on [23.]
 'his Majesty to Church by my Duty
 'and Place; after Sermon was over,
 'at the upper end of the Quire, the
 'Lord *Conway* told me; *I have ac-*
 'quainted his Majesty how Obedient
 'you

you were to his Commands, and how willing to resign the Seal without any farther Dispute; and I have presented all your Requests to his Majesty; who answer'd to every particular as follows; concerning your Retiring he meant no Restraint of Place; but for some Questions that might be renew'd, and for some Considerations known to himself, he intended not to use your service at the Council-Table for a while. And for your Estate; you had no Wife and Children: And he intended not to Debar you from any of your Church Preferments, until he should provide you better, And he was content to admit you to speak with him when you pleas'd, provided you endeavour'd not to unsettle his former Resolutions.

*The Keeper
desires ad-
mittance to
the King.*

Upon the 18th of *October*, I desir'd Admittance to the King; and Mr. *Tho. Cary* sent me Word, 'His Majesty would speak with me the next Morning. But after Sermon, the King told 'my Lord *Conway*, that I had sent to 'him; and he was in a long and serious 'Discourse with him. Then my Lord 'Conway (the King being gone to 'dinner) follow'd me into the Cloister, and

‘and told me, That he conceiv’d his
‘Majesty was afraid, that I would press
‘him to give his Reasons, why he took
‘the Seal from me, and caus’d me to
‘abstain from the Board. But I an-
‘swered, I should falsify my Word to
‘his Lordship, if I should speak unto
‘his Majesty upon any other Points,
‘than those of my Reputation, and my
‘Means. After this, the Keeper gave

the Lord *Conway* a Letter (having first
shew’d it to him) to present unto his
Majesty, if he thought fit; wherein
was a full Declaration of his Innocency,
both with respect to his Majesty and
the Duke, which he concludes thus;
*If all these Informations against a poor
Bishop, that so serv’d your Father in
his Life, and at his Death, be ground-
ed only upon Suspicion, Malice, or Mis-
apprehension, and be cried down (as they
needs must be) by all the Members of
the one and the other House; pity me,
Dread Sovereign; and let me retire
with the comfortable Assurance of your
Majesty’s Favour, that I may spend my
Days quietly in the Service of my GOD;
in serving whom, as I resolve to do, I
shall never fail to serve your Majesty;
whom GOD Almighty prosper with all*

[24.]

M

Suc-

178 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,
Success in this World, and with all
Happiness and Eternal Glory in that
to come.*

[25.]
*The King
sends for
him to
come to
him.*

*The Kee-
per's Peti-
tions to the
King.*

After his Majesty had read the Letter, he sent for the Keeper, to make his Petitions, and to speak what he had to say to him. So his Lordship presenting himself before the King, his requests, together with his Majesty's Answers, were as they follow.

First, he ask'd his Majesty's Grace and Favour in General. He granting it, gave him his Hand twice to kifs.

2^{ly} Says the Keeper, I humbly thank your Majesty for your gracious Promise, to take away none of my Church Preferments, till you have given me better; and I beseech your Majesty to keep the same benevolent Mind towards me. The King replied, *It is my Intention.* 3^{ly} I beseech your Majesty to remember your Father's Promise, made before all the Lords, that whensoever he took away the Seal, he would place me in as good a Bishoprick or Arch-Bishoprick as he could: A Promise not only seconded, but drawn from your Father first by your Majesty. *There is no such Place yet void* (says the King) *when any falls,*

*'falls, then it will be time to make this
'Request to me. 4^{ly} I desire that I may
'not be commanded away from the
'Council-Table, but that my Absence
'may be left wholly to my own Dis-
'cretion. I ever intended it so, and
'never said a word to the contra-
'ry; says the King) but then, I ex-
'pect you would not offend by a vo-
'luntary Intrusion. 5^{ly} I beseech your
'Majesty to declare unto the Lords,
'that I have willingly and readily yield-
'ed to your Majesty's Pleasure, and
'that I part in your Favour and good
'Opinion, and am still your Servant.
'I will (replies his Majesty) but I look
'that no Petitions be made for you by
'any Man at that time, but only for
'my Favour in General. 6^{ly} I humbly
'beg, that your Majesty, when you
'think fit, would make my Attone-
'ment with my Lord Duke, either
'upon, or without Examination of
'those Informations, which his Grace
'hath receiv'd against me. It becomes
'not me, a King, to take up the Quar-
'rels between my Subjects: and the Duke
'has never before me exprest any such
'Enmity against you. So he thank'd
his Majesty for the last part of his*

M 2

An-

180 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

Answer, which reviv'd him not a little.
 7^{ly} Whereas by your Father's Direction, I bought a Pension of 2000 Marks *per Annum*, for 3000 *l.* I desire your Majesty would be pleas'd either to buy it of me for the same sum again, and extinguish it; or assign it to be paid me out of the Tenths and Subsidies of the Bishoprick, as before I had Appointment to receive it out of the Hamper. The King said, *Assignments are naught; but I will take order with my Treasurer, either to pay it, or buy it, as shall be found most convenient.* 8^{ly} I desire your Majesty would bestow the next vacant Prebend in *Westminster*, upon my Library-keeper, as your Father had promis'd me, or let me resume my Books. *It is very reasonable,* replies the King. 9^{ly} I petition your Majesty that you would be pleas'd to ratify a Grant made by your Father of four Advousons to *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*; two whereof I bought with my Money, and two his Majesty gave me for the use of that Society. Says the King, *I will ratify the Grant, and give way to amend any Errors in the Form, or in the Passing.* 10^{ly},

‘I beg Leave to retire to a little Lodge,
 ‘lent me by my Lord *Sandys*, where
 ‘my Lord *Conway* may receive the Seal,
 ‘when your Majesty commands it.
 ‘Which was granted. Lastly, I be- [26.]
 ‘seech your Majesty not to be offended
 ‘at me, if upon my Discharge, Re-
 ‘ports are rais’d of my being discon-
 ‘tented, which I protest I am not, go-
 ‘ing off so comfortably in your Ma-
 ‘jesty’s Favour. *I will do you that*
 ‘*Justice* (says the King) *and shall lit-*
 ‘*tle value Reports*. So with a pleasing
 Countenance he gave him his Hand
 to kifs, and dismiss’d him graciously.

And the Keeper thought he had ob- *The Kee-*
 tain’d much of his Majesty; but after *per’s Peti-*
 he went away, so powerful were his *tions all*
 Enemies, that they frustrated all the *frustrated.*
 kind Concessions made him by the
 King; for he reap’d no Advantage
 from any one of them, excepting the
 four Advoufons confirm’d to *St. John’s*
College. After he left *Salisbury* (which *Cabal. p.*
 was the next Day) he could never re- *114.*
 ceive any thing from his Pension, nor
 to his dying Day could he ever bring it
 to a Hearing. It was his Expectation
 too, that after some time he might be
 call’d again to the Council-Board. But

He gives
over all
hopes of
Court Fa-
vour.

his hopes (it seems) were vain; for he was never so much as thought of, and he was resolv'd not to intrude without being call'd. But before five Days were expir'd, he had Intelligence how vehemently the Duke talk'd against him. Which made him give over all hopes of any Court Favour for the future; and so, knowing the worst, he was the better able to set his Heart at rest; for the greatest Torture to a well-pois'd Mind is, to fluctuate betwixt Hope and Dispair.

The Seal
taken from
him.

[27.]
Fuller in
his Ch.

Hist. B. XI.

p. 125. is

out by some

Months in

his Compu-

tation a-

bout the

Keeper.

Cypr. Ang.

p. 139.

Sander-

son's Reign

of King Ch.

p. 24.

The Letter

is in Bishop

Hacket.

Upon the 25th of *October*, Sir *John Sucklin*, Controller of his Majesty's Houshold, brought a Warrant from the King to the Lord Keeper, (who was now at *Foxly*, near *Windsor*) to receive the *Great-Seal*; which accordingly he deliver'd, but with no signs of Unwillingness, as one intimates. For the Keeper was glad to hear that so worthy a Person as Sir *Thomas Coventry*, his Majesty's Attorney General, was to succeed him: And instantly, giving up the *Seal*, he put it in the presence of Sir *John Sucklin*, into a rich Cabinet, inclosing the Key into a Letter to his Majesty, seal'd with the Episcopal Arms of *Lincoln*. Thus did

did the Duke of *Buckingham* at last compass his Designs upon his own Creature; in the furthering of which 'tis more than probable that he was assisted by the Lawyers, out of a Desire they might have to get this Dignity once again into their own possession. And now we have done with the Lord Keeper; so that the sequel of this Part will be taken up in giving an Account of the Bishop's Troubles, with Reference to the State, omitting all his Concerns in the Church, till I come to my last Part. Notwithstanding that, according to the order of Time, they were in reality mixt and interwoven with the State-occurrences of his Life; yet I choose to separate them, because, as I told you before, I would not confound Characters; that so my Reader might the better see upon a clear View how to form a Judgment of him. Which I am the more desirous he should, because it has been the great Misfortune of this Prelate (as well as it was *Laud's*) to be represented to Posterity by contrary Parties, under quite different Shapes.

Cyprianus
Angl. p.
139.

*The Bishop
retires to
Bugden.*

And now the Bishop being discharg'd from his Civil Affairs, he betakes himself wholly to his Episcopal Charge. And without touching at *London*, he remov'd from *Foxly* to *Bugden* in *Huntington-shire*, the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Seat; making the greater haste to be gone, lest now the Malice of his Enemies being fresh he might suffer more from them. For they that could procure the Seal to be taken from him, without accusing him of any Mis-managment, might as well if exasperated have depriv'd him of his Bishoprick: for when once Peoples Wills come to give Rules to their Actions, God alone knows to what they may proceed. But tho' his Lordship thought, that now he was retir'd from the sight and out of the Reach of his Enemies, yet in truth he was not so. For he had spies set over him to watch his Actions, and to insnare him in his Words. And that the rather, because the Bishop was of a free, open Temper, and inclin'd to take that innocent and undesigning Liberty of Speech, which a Man would not be so apt to do, did he think People stood

*Spies are
set over
him.*

[33.]
*Sander-
son's Reign
of K. Ch.
p. 24.*

flood at his Elbow, to make the worst of ev'ry Thing, that was said. But neither was his pleasant humour sometimes without a mixture of Policy; for by seeming to open himself, he would often tempt others from being too much upon the Reserve. And he was too wise after the severe warning given him, to speak any thing that with a favourable Interpretation could turn to his Disadvantage.

The Duke of *Buckingham* continu'd still the Bishop's implacable Adversary, and vow'd, *that of all he had given him, he would leave him nothing.* And the better to furnish

himself with Accusations to compass his Designs, he had given Order to a Commission of *Thirteen* to examine ev'ry particular Action of the Bishop's, and to make a Collection of what would bear a Censure in the *King's Bench*, the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Court of Parliament*. And this was manag'd with that secrecie for some time, that his Lordship with all his vigilance was not aware of it. And the whole result of their Inquiry was, that their Malice shew'd

[64.]
[67.]
A Commission of Thirteen sit upon the Bishop's Actions.

his Innocency still the more. And when they could charge him with nothing else, at last they urg'd, that he Entertain'd such at his Table as bore a Grudge to the Duke; who perhaps upon Old Acquaintance might make him some Visits, but never upon any Factious Design, [66.] that could be prov'd. Besides all this, the Bishop had notice that he was perpetually Slander'd to his Majesty in Private, and he had Reason to suspect that things were worse than they were represented to him.

[65.] *The Reason of the continuance of the Duke's hatred to the Bishop.* Now the Occasion of the Duke's Resentments growing still more and more vehement, was not the Bishop's Stoutness or Obstinacy, (to which he was but too prone) for he had almost Cring'd to his Grace in Submission, and stoop'd as low as was possible on this side a Dejected Baseness: But it was the Freedom of his Advice, that gall'd the Duke. And one would think, the Bishop had had too much Experience of the ungratefulness of that Office, ever to venture upon it again. But there is nothing so careless and so willful as down-

downright Honesty, which consults not what is most expedient for it self, so much as what may be for the Good of others. And thus when the Countess of *Buckingham* (his Grace's Mother) and several other of his best Friends advis'd with the Bishop about him, he was so plain as to say, that he approv'd not of his Grace's manner of Magnifying his Services for the King, and that he did not seem to apprehend what a deal of Envy he gain'd by his Vaunting sometimes, *That he would make his Majesty the greatest Monarch in Europe.* And the Bishop too would say that he did not like the Duke's Preparations against *Cadis*, which he thought would in the End turn to his Dishonour: to dissuade him from which, he would often say, *That a King must make himself sure in the Love of his own People at home, before he bids War abroad to such a Rich and mighty Nation.* Such an Insight had this great Man into all Affairs, that his Counsels were ever for the best; and so faithful and free was he, that he could not endure to disguise his Sentiments. And wise
Men

Men have that in Common very often with Fools, that they must be shewing themselves, tho' it be for the most part to their own Prejudice.

*The Bishop
suspects not
the King to
be against
him.*

[64.]

But the Bishop could never be perswaded that his Majesty had any hand in those Contrivances, that were Design'd for his utter Ruin; and that, all proceeded in a manner involuntarily from him, by meer Impulse of such as having too much of his Majesty's Ear, might transport him beyond his own Merciful Temper. And so confident was he of his own Innocency, and of his Majesty's Justice and Favour to him for his former Services, that in his greatest Troubles, he desir'd no more in his own behalf but to be brought before his Majesty to speak for himself, and to represent those things aright, which others had set in no favourable Light. But yet certain it is, that had not the King been disgusted with him, he would never have wink'd so long at his Sufferings. However the Bishop thought nothing of all this; excepting once that he was startled at an expression, that escap'd from the King, within a few

few Weeks after his Father's Death. One that came from the *French Court* told his Majesty, That the *Spanish Ambassador* spake openly there, (when the Marriage with the Princess *Mary* was to be finish'd) *that he could not have Two Wives, for their Infanta was surely his.* To which the King replied, *there are some English as well as Spaniards, that are of that Opinion.* Which when it was told the Bishop, he said with a low Voice, *I know of none such; but if he means Me, it will be the worse for me while I live.*

The Time for the King's Corona-
tion being now just at hand, the Bi-
shop of *Lincoln* comes to *London* and
writes thus to the Duke of *Bucking-*
ham; Being come hither, according to
the Duty of my Place, to do my best
Service for the Preparation to the Co-
ronation, and to wait upon his Ma-
jesty for his Royal Pleasure and Di-
rection therein; I do most humbly be-
seech your Grace to crown so many
of your Grace's former Favours, and to
receive a Creature of your own (struck
dead only with your Displeasure) by
bringing me to kiss his Majesty's hand,
with whom I took leave in no Dis-
favour

The Bishop desires to assist at the Coronation.

Cabal. p. 310. Jan. 7. 1625.

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[68.] *favour at all.* But his Petition (it seems) stood him but in small stead, if in any at all. For, although the Deans of *Westminster* have had for above these Three hundred Years last past a particular Place at that great Solemnity, and although Bishop *Andrews* (who was Dean) did attend at the Coronation of King *James* as a special Officer; yet when the appointed Day was come, the Bishop of *Lincoln* had orders to absent himself, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his Place. Now he was resolv'd not to name Bishop *Laud*, because he took him for his Rival and his Adversary; and to Substitute one of a degree inferior to a Bishop, he thought would be taken ill by the Court. Therefore to avoid being laugh'd at on the one hand, or censur'd on the other, he very prudently sends his Majesty a List of all the Prebendaries and their several Dignities, and leaves it to him to choose whom he pleases; and immediately he pitch'd upon *Laud*, who accordingly attended in the Room of *Williams*; who insisted not upon his Right, but yielded to the *Sequestration*,

[68.]
Cypr. Angl. p. 144.
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI.
p. 121.

Febr. 2.
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI.
p. 123.
I believe
he is mistaken there
about Williams,
to be sure
he was not
Lord Keeper at this
time. And
perhaps
was not so
much in
Favour as
to read the
King's general Par-
don.
Laud's
Diar.
An. 1625.
Jan. 16.
& Jan. 17.

tion, as he call'd it in his Letter to the King.

Immediately after the Coronation was over, a second *Parliament* met. The Second Parliam. call'd, Feb. 6. And the Duke, fearing the Bishop of *Lincoln*, makes Interest with the King to have him kept out of the House. Cabal. p. 114. His Lordship being ready to obey his Majesty in all his Commands, was willing to absent himself, since it was *his Majesty's pleasure to spare him*. But yet he would not forfeit his Right as a Peer, lest he might infringe that of others; and therefore he complains thus to his Majesty; *I have not yet receiv'd my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (denied to no Prisoners, or condemned Peers in the Reign of your Blessed Father) that I might accordingly make my Proxy; the which I cannot do, the Writ being not receiv'd.* So at last he obtain'd a Writ, and made *B. Andrews* his Proxy. Sits in it by Proxy. And the Bishop in this Letter to his Majesty, in which he petitions for this Writ, adds these following Supplications. *First,* Cabal. p. 115. *I beg for GOD's sake, that your Majesty would be pleas'd to mitigate the causeless Displeasure of my Lord Duke against me.* His Petitions at this time to the King. *Secondly, I beseech your Majesty*

jesty for CHRIST JESUS his sake, not to believe News, or Accusations against me, while I stand thus enjoyn'd from your Royal Presence, before you shall have heard my Answer to the Particulars. Lastly, I supplicate, That in my Absence this Parliament, no use may be made of your Sacred Name to wound the Reputation of a poor Bishop, who besides his Religion and Duty to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honour'd your very Person, above all the Objects in this World, as he desires the Salvation of the World to come. But I crave no Protection against any other Accuser or Accusation whatsoever. There are in his Letters several other Protestations of this Nature, which are too many to be inserted into this Life; but the few I have transcrib'd here, and elsewhere, I thought necessary to clear him from the Aspersions of several Authors that agree in charging him with unfair Dealings in the preceding Parliament to the King and Duke. And in another long Letter to the King, much about this Time, he shews his Majesty how grossly he has been abus'd to him by the Duke; and that he will venture his

his Life upon the Proof of any thing
his Grace can urge against him.

Yet for all this, the Bishop was ready at all times to serve the Duke with his Advice: and being demanded, when this Second Parliament was summon'd, by *Buckingham's* Friends to tell them what he thought would be most adviseable for the Duke's safety, with reference to this *Parliament*, he answered; 'His best way will be, 'not to come near it; for it will be 'impossible for him to close with this '*Parliament*, who (contrary to my Advice) offended the former, and broke 'it up. Let him remove himself by 'some great Embassage, till the first 'Session be ended; into *Germany*, if he 'will, as far as *Vienna*, if he dare trust 'the King of *Spain's* greatest Friend 'and nearest Ally. But this Advice did not please those of the Duke's Interest; for rather than send him so far from the King, they would venture him at Home, thinking their Party strong enough to secure him. Nor could the Bishop bring them off from their Assurance: But all that he foretold came to pass, which intraged the Duke so much the more.

*The Bishop
advises the
Duke not
to appear
in Parlia-
ment.*
[65.]

N

liament

[70.] *liament* grew violent against him, and
 See the whole Proceedings in Rushw. part. 1. spent the best part of eighteen Weeks
 in drawing up a Charge, and prosecuting it against his Grace. So that
 it was fortunate for the Bishop that
 he was not in the House at this time,
 because he could not have appeared
 against the Duke, and to stand for him
 had been to no purpose, and would
 have exposed him to popular Hatred.

Cypr. Ang. p. 151. But the King perceiving that they
The King dissolves the Parl. wounded him through the Duke's sides,
 and not being able to divert them
 from what they were set upon, he
 An. 1626. dissolved the Parliament on the 15th
The Third Parl. call'd. of June.

[72.] After this, his Majesty designing
 to call another Parliament, the Lord

Feb. 17. Keeper Coventry had orders to write
 to the Bishop of Lincoln to dissuade
 him from appearing at it. But the

The Bishop sits himself in the House. Bishop (with all submission to the
 King) perceiving himself to be tram-
 pled upon, resolved to stand upon
 his Privilege as a Lord, and to let it
 be no longer infring'd. Therefore in

Feb. 25. his Answer to the Lord Coventry's
 Letter, he says; *I must crave some time
 to resolve by the best Counsels God shall
 give me, whether I shall obey your Lord-
 ship's*

ship's Letter (though mentioning his Majesty's Pleasure) before my own Right, which by the Law of God and Man I may in all Humility maintain. And so resolutely did he persist, that when the *Parliament* met, he sate in the House himself, and not by Proxy, as before; and continu'd in it to the last. And he was the more earnest to be present at this time, out of the great Desire he had, if possible, to do his Majesty some Service.

March 17.
An. 1627.

But his Enemies were resolved to be upon him, and to catch at all Opportunities to accuse him. So now he is censured for growing too Popular in this *Parliament*. And indeed it was high time for him to make some Friends, since he was not only discountenanced by the King, but strongly opposed by *Buckingham* and *Laud*, that had determined his Ruin, if possible. But yet for all his Favour with the *Parliament*, he departed not from the King's Interest. But did his Endeavour now (as formerly) to ballance things equally between his Majesty and his Subjects.

The Bishop is censur'd for his Popularity.
[73.]

*The Peti-
tion of
Right.*

H. Lestr.

K. Ch. p.

76, 77, &c.

[77.]

*The Bishop
is for it.*

[78.]

At this time, the People desiring to be assured that their just Liberties should no ways be infringed; Sir *Ed. Coke* advises that a *Petition of Right* be presented to his Majesty: which accordingly was done. The Duke of *Buckingham* was very much against this Petition, for which the *Commons* were resolved to be even with him before they parted. But the Bishop of *Lincoln* was for promoting the Address of the *Commons*, only he was for having a Clause added to it, *That as they desired to preserve their own Liberties, so they had regard to leave entire that Power wherewith his Majesty was intrusted for the Protection of his People.* Which the *Commons* would not admit of, but ordered it to be cancelled; and had some Suspicions, as if the Bishop had been *sprinkled with some Court Holy-water.* Whereas all he designed by it was, only to keep up the Dignity of Majesty. And when the King made his Objections against this Petition, the Bishop answered them all, and shewed his Majesty how agreeable it was to our Laws and Constitution, and no less honourable for himself; for it made him a King of Free-men, and

and not of Slaves: All which his Lordship did so plainly demonstrate, that the King gave his full Assent to the Petition: upon which the Houses testified their Joy by a mighty shout. [79.]

And it was said that the *House of Lords* requested the King upon this Agreement, to receive again into Favour the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with some other Lords. And the King perceiving how ready the Bishop was in this *Parliament* to serve him, he gave him his Hand to kiss, and he was admitted to talk in private both with his Majesty and the Duke. But so unfortunate was the Bishop, that even this Conference which he had at this time with the King, gave the first occasion to all his Troubles afterwards in the *Star-Chamber*. [80.]

For, the King conjuring him to tell him freely, how he might best ingratiate himself with the People, his Lordship reply'd, 'That the *Puritans* were many, and strong sticklers; and if his Majesty would give but private Orders to his Ministers to connive a little at their Party, shew them some Indulgence, it might perhaps mollify them a little, and make them more pliant: Tho' he did

The Peti-
tion of
Right.

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The first rise of the B. Troubles in Star-Chamber.

‘That the *Puritans* were many, and strong sticklers; and if his Majesty would give but private Orders to his Ministers to connive a little at their Party, shew them some Indulgence, it might perhaps mollify them a little, and make them more pliant: Tho’ he did

‘not promise that they would be trusty
‘long to any Government. And the
King answered, he had thought upon
this before, and that he would do so.
About two Months after this, the
Bishop at his Court at *Leicester*, acted
according to this Counsel resolv’d upon
by his Majesty; and withall told Sir
J. Lamb, and *Dr. Sibthorp* his Reason
for it; *That it was not only his own,*
(37.) *but the Royal Pleasure.* Now *Lamb*
was one that had formerly been infi-
nitely oblig’d to the Bishop; but how-
ever, a Breach happening betwixt them,
he and *Sibthorp* carried the Bishop’s
Words to *Laud*, and he to the King,
who was then at *Bisham*. Hereupon
it was resolv’d, That upon the Depo-
sition of these Two, a Bill should be
drawn up against the Bishop, for re-
vealing the King’s Secrets, being a
Sworn Counsellor. But, *that he trespass’d*
against Loyalty with his Tongue, is a
very great Mistake in certain Histo-
rians. This Information, together
with some others, being transmitted
to the Council-Table, was ordered for
the present to be seal’d up, and com-
mitted to the Custody of *Mr. Trumbal*,
one of the Clerks of the Council.
Never-

H. Lestr.

p. 152.

Sander-

son’s K. Ch.

p. 220.

Rush. Coll.

p. 421.

Nevertheless; the Bishop made shift to procure a Copy of them. And so the Business rested for some Years.

But to return to the King's receiving the Bishop into Favour again. To set all things straight, and to quit all old scores, his Lordship was kindly receiv'd by the Duke, and no mention was made of former Unkindnesses, but *Williams* tendered his faithful Service, and *Buckingham* accepted of it; and allow'd him to hold up a seeming Enmity, and his Interest with the People, that so he might be the better able to serve him the next Session of *Parliament*. So they parted in perfect Charity, which was a great Happiness to them both, since they never met again; the Duke dying soon after by the Hand of that Notorious Villain *John Felton*. And indeed the Duke promised at a private Meeting, two Months before he dy'd, to restore the Bishop into Favour, and did design a time for the open Profession of it. Which (considering the violent Hatred he bore to him before) to me seems none of the smallest, amongst those several strange Prognosticks, which his Grace had of his untimely End. And now to shew

The Bishop receiv'd into Favour by the Duke.
[80.]

Buckingham kill'd. Stow's Ch. Aug. 23. An. 1628.
[65.]

[81.]

the Bishop of *Lincoln's* great Generosity; immediately upon the first sad Tidings of the Duke's Death, he dispatch'd away a kind Consolating Letter to his Mother, whose Answer to his Lordship's, begins thus; *My Lord, It is true Nobleness that makes you remember so distressed a Creature as I am, and to continue a true Friend in harder Fortunes. You give me many Reasons of Comfort, for which I kindly thank you, for I have need of them all.* And he continued to shew Respect, and to do what Service he could to his desolate Relations, which the Countess of *Denbigh* his Sister did often confess to Bishop *Hacket*, and speak of to *Williams's* great Commendation and Honour.

*Stow's Ch.
An. 1628.
The Parlia-
ment is
dissolv'd.*

*The 10 ac-
cording to
some.*

[82.]

This *Parliament* (which we have been speaking of) continued till the 26th of *June*, and then was prorogued to the 20th of *October*; and then upon the 20th of *January* began again, and so continued unto the beginning of *March* following, when upon the 4th of that Month, the King dissolved it utterly. For tho' 'twas thought by some, that the Death of the Duke might occasion more Quiet, yet the People

People still continu'd as unruly, and rather more than ever. Infomuch that the K. difmift them in a Paſſion, and ſo much in his Diſpleaſure, that he called no *Parliaments* after this for the ſpace of twelve Years.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln* (who had The Biſh. Advice to the King about the Parl. foreſight enough to ſee which way Things were a-going) with ſorrow preſaged the Ruin of the State, and did his utmoſt Endeavour to prevent it. And for this End he importuned the Lord *Weston* to carry this Meſſage from him to his Maſteſty. *That the Parliament might meet again for all this, and that there might be a conference between them and the Lords, to debate upon Differences. And that he hoped their Houſe would check, if not cenſure thoſe Commons, that were ſo very rude; and that they would, being aſhamed for what they had done, make Amends by their Submission. But if they were impenitently obſtinate, he did not deſire to intercede for them.* What the Event of this Counſel might have been, God alone knows; but the King would not hearken to it. And here it is worth our while, to mention a very common [83.] A Saying of the Biſhop's about Parliaments. Saying of the Biſhop's about *Parlia-*

ments; That Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments were most tractable, which sate but a short time, ended before they were acquainted with one anothers Interests, and had not learned to combine.

*The want
of Parl. a
great cause
of the Bi-
shop's Mis-
fortunes.*

[85.]

*Rush. Coll.
p. 637.*

It happened ill for our Bishop that *Parliaments* were now discontinued; for he fell into all his future Troubles, chiefly because he was quite out of Favour at Court, and at the same time wanted the shelter of a *Parliament* to skreen him from the Storms that were still a gathering; tho' if there had been any Fair Weather in the Sky, one would think by this time that he had had a sufficient share of the Foul. And now the Duke being laid in his Grave, some perhaps will expect, that all should go well with him. But that's not to be expected so long as Bishop *Laud* lives; who after *Buckingham's* Death grew more and more in Favour with the King, and was about this time made Bishop of *London*. And as the first Differences between these two great Prelates began by Mis-understanding on both sides, so did they continue in their Mistakes (Time rather increasing them) to the very last, and never had the

the happiness to frame right their Notions of one another. For B. *Laud* ever look'd upon B. *Williams* as a Man that gave Encouragement to the *Puritans*, and that hung loose as to our Church Discipline; and on the other hand, B. *Williams* took B. *Laud* to be a great Favourer of the *Papists*. Which we may reasonably conclude from what a Person of Honour tells us in his E. of Anglesey's Mem. p. 336. Memoirs. And as the Opinions of these two Bishops concerning one another were different, so likewise were their Natural Tempers quite opposite, [86.] The Character of Laud and Williams. for which reason there appear'd the less hopes of a Reconciliation. For *Laud* was a stiff and rigid Asserter of our Church Discipline, and would not yield in the least Punctilios by any means; for his Maxim was, D. Lloyd's Ch. of B. Laud. *There is no end of Yielding.* *Williams* was a Man too that lov'd the Beauty and Decency of our Church, as much as any Man, but then his Temper was more complying; and his Policy was, to let Necessity govern in Matters of less weight, and to bend his private Inclinations in such things, to the Prevalency of the Times. *Laud* was for Compulsion and the Authority of the Magi-

Magistrate against the *Puritans*: And *Williams* thought Insinuations and Compliances would work the best Effects upon them, and that the surest way would be to *catch them by craft*. In short, *Laud* was a Man fit for Primitive Times, but *Williams* to comply with the Weakness of his own; The One being fit to govern Saints, the Other to deal with Men, the difficult Task by far.

Laud's Diary, Anno
1626. Jan.
17.

[87.]

Orders to
regulate
the Prea-
chers.

Thus they being Men, both very active in their way, and their Notions of things quite different, it is natural they should be at Variance. And *Laud* in one main Point was grossly mistaken about *Williams*, who did always assert and maintain the Divine Right of Episcopacy, tho' *Laud* affirms he was of a contrary Opinion. But to search no farther into the Reasons of Things, let us now proceed to Matters of Fact, and to give an Account of such cross Accidents as befell the Bishop of *Lincoln*, during the Time of Bishop *Laud's* Favour at Court; which was so great, that in Affairs of State, as well as of the Church he govern'd almost without Controul. And now one of the first things that he obtain'd
of

of his Majesty was an Order to silence all Preaching, or Reading in the Universities, upon the Questions decided at *Dort*. This Direction of his Majesty's the Bishop of *Lincoln* obey'd, but foresaw that this Restraint would be so far from tending to the Peace of the Church, that it would make the Zealots of each Party the more earnest to establish their Opinion, and that in the End, it would in all probability turn to a general Combustion. And tho' he for his own part did strictly observe the King's Orders, yet because he was not so stirring in them as was expected, he was mark'd out for an Opposer of the King's Commands, and a main stickler for the Adherents to the Synod of *Dort*.

Now was Prince *Charles* born; and to the great Solemnity of his Christening on the 27th of *June*, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about *London* were invited, excepting the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who was omitted on purpose; which troubled him mightily, that in a Day of publick Rejoycing, when his Majesty's Brow was clear to every body, it should frown upon him alone. Tho' for some time before this, he

was

*The Birth
of Prince
Charles.
An. 1630.
May 29.
[96.]*

was quite thrown out of the Privy-Council, and not so much as allow'd the Honour of the Title, more than which he had not enjoy'd these four Years. The Bishop not knowing what Reason the King had for all his Displeasure against him, made bold to ask the Earl of *Holland*, whence he thought it might proceed? To which the Earl reply'd freely, *That he must expect worse than this, because he was such a Champion for the Petition of Right; and that there was no room at the Table for those that lik'd it.* And had not *Williams* been absolutely clear from all manner of *Bribery* and *Extortion*, not only during the time he was Lord Keeper, but likewise now in his Ecclesiastical Courts, his Adversaries had brought him into a *Star-Chamber* Trial, by Virtue of the *Commission for regulating of Fees* (set on foot this Year) which sifted him narrowly, but could prove nothing against him.

The main Reason of Williams's Disfavour.

A Commission for regulating Fees.

[94 95.]

The Bishop's Troubles encrease.

And now the Bishop declining still more and more in Favour, a multitude of lesser Troubles surround him, and several must needs be pecking at him, tho' it were but to ingratiate them-

themselves at Court. Abundance of frivolous Accusations and little vexatious Law suits were brought against him daily; and it was the height of his Adversaries Policy to empty his Purse and clip his Wings by all the meanes they could invent, that so at last he might lie wholly at their mercy, and not be able to shift for himself. Notwithstanding all which, what [39.] with his Innocency and what with his Courage springing from it, he bore up against them all, and never was the Man that shew'd a Grudge or Malice to any of them. But his Lordship perceiving himself to be thus perpetually harass'd he ask'd the Lord Cottington, if he could tell him, what he should do to procure his Peace, and such other ordinary Favours as other Bishops had from his Majesty. To which the Lord Cottington replied, That the splendour in which he liv'd, and the great resort of Company that came to him, was offensive, and that the King must needs take it ill, that one under the height of his Displeasure should live at so Magnificent a Rate. In the next Place his Majesty would be better

He desires to know how he may appease the King.

*The Bishop
refuses to
quit his
Deanery.*

ter satisfied if he resign'd the Deanery of *Westminster*, because he did not care that he should be so near a Neighbour to *Whitehall*. As for the First of these Reasons his natural Temper (tho' to be sure he was imprudent in it) would not suffer him to comply with it, and to moderate his Expences in House-keeping. And he was not so short-sighted as to part with his Deanery upon such precarious Terms. For, (says he) *What Health can come from such a Remedy? Am I like to be beholden to them for a settled Tranquility, that practice upon the Ruin of my Estate. and the Thrall of my Honour? If I forfeit one Preferment for Fear, will it not encourage them to tear me Piece-meal hereafter?*

[90] *It is not my case alone, but every Man's: and if the Law cannot maintain my Right, it can maintain no Man's.* So in spite of all their Contrivances to out him, he kept the Deanery till the King receiv'd it from him at *Oxford*, in the Year 1644. But they did all they could, since he was resolv'd to hold it, to make him as uneasy as possible in it. He was not admit-

*Contrivances to make
him uneasy
in it*

admitted to Preach before the King in *Lent* (*Good Friday* being his usual Course) for Four Years; and for Three Years together, when he came to the *Chapters*, or to the Election of Scholars, he could not rest above a Day or two in College, but Secretary *Coke* either by his Letters, or by Word of Mouth commanded him from the King, to return to his Bishoprick. So that one time the Bishop very resolutely ask'd him, *how he durst command a Man out of his Freehold?* Which wrought upon the Old Gentleman so far, that he never rested until he had his Pardon Seal'd for it. After this the Arch-Bishop was order'd by the King to press him to Residency upon his Bishoprick by the Statute, since nothing else would remove him; and this contrivance lost it's Effect too. For in answer to this he writes to his Grace thus; *I confine my self to those particular seasons, to which the local Statutes of the College and my express Oath do enjoyn me; That is to say, the two Chapters and the great Festivals. All which space of Time doth not (being taken in the disjunct spaces)*

O

make

Dav.
Lloyd's
Life of
Williams.

[91.]

210 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

*make a Bishop a Nonresident by any
Cypr. Ang. Law I know of, nor consequently in-
P. 199. fringe his Majesty's Instructions tho'
a Man had no Dispensation; which
Instructions require only that a Bishop
should reside: but We presume that it is
no part of his Majesty's gracious In-
tention, that they should be confin'd,
or as it were imprison'd in their Bi-
shopricks.*

*A Diffi-
rence be-
twixt him
and the
Prebenda-
ries, An.
1634.*

*Barnard's
Life of
Heylyn.
p. 160, &c.*

And here his Vexations about the
Deanery rested for a few Years; after
which, Differences broke out between
the Dean and the Prebendaries of
Westminster, upon which they drew
up Six and Thirty Articles against him,
frivolous and impertinent in the main,
to which the Bishop answer'd with
no concern at all. But if you will credit
an Author that has but small affection
for his Lordship (upon his Kinsman's
Account) the Things alledg'd against
him were notorious. So I refer my
Reader to him, and to Bishop *Hacket*,
and after comparing of them both to-
gether, let him judge for himself: But
whether the Bishop were at this time
culpable or not, yet he kept his
Deanery still. And to be sure his
Actions were not like to have an over-
favour.

favourable Interpretation from Dr. Heylyn, who was one of his chief Accusers, and his profest Enemy, not only upon Bishop *Laud's* Account, but likewise upon the Account of a ^{Barnard.} Personal Quarrel he had formerly ^{p. 129.} with Bishop *Williams*. Justice to be sure ought to be executed indifferently upon all without respect of Persons: But then, if these Persons did heighten [92.] and exasperate their Complaints, nay, or if they stretch'd them to the full Rigour, against their Dean, who had been every way so great a Benefactor both to the College and Church of *Westminster*; we may modestly conclude, That he receiv'd very hard measure at their Hands; as indeed most of the good Offices and Services he did in the foregoing Part of his Life, brought him in no small share of Evil.

As yet you see the Bishop of *Lincoln* has not had the least glimpse of that good Fortune in this Reign, which he enjoy'd all along, without having it so much as once over-cast in the former. And now by this time it was sufficiently known to all People, how much he was out of Favour; so

[96.]
*The Bi-
 shop un-
 justly ac-
 cus'd a-
 bout the
 Ship-mo-
 ney.*
 An. 1636.

that it was look'd upon as a piece of Merit, to assist in his Ruin. And this perhaps might be some incitement to what Sir *Robert Osborn*, High Sheriff of *Huntingtonshire*, acted against the Bishop in the levying of the *Ship-Money*. *Williams* for his part was very cautious to carry himself without offence in this Matter; but Sir *Robert*, laying a very unequal levy upon the *Hundred*, wherein *Bugden* was, the Bishop wrote courteously to him to rectify it, and he and his Neighbours would be ready to see it collected. Upon this, Sir *Robert*, catching at the Opportunity, posts up to Court, and makes a heavy Complaint against the Bishop, that he not only refus'd the Payment of *Ship-Money* himself, but likewise animated the *Hundred* to do so too. And yet for all this, when the Bishop afterwards clear'd himself before the Lords of the Council, and they were satisfy'd, that he had behav'd himself with Duty and Prudence, Sir *Robert* was not reprehended, nor had the Bishop any Satisfaction given him, nor was the Levy regulated.

After

After this, was reviv'd the long and troublesome Trial against the Bishop in the *Star-Chamber*, which commenc'd *4 Car.* upon some Informations (as we hinted before) brought against him by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp*. I shall not pretend here to abstract the whole Proceedings, least my Reader might suspect me of Partiality; as indeed the leaving out of any one little Circumstance may give the whole Matter another Face, than what it really has. He therefore that has so much Leisure and Curiosity may have recourse to those Authors that have made it their Business to be particular in this Point. And after he has compar'd *Hacket* and *Rushworth* (the former in all probability having the clearest Knowledge of the most minute Circumstances) I doubt not but he will conclude that Bishop *Williams* had very hard Measure dealt him. However, when the Business came to a final determination, the Bishop was Fin'd 10000 *l.* to the King, and to suffer Imprisonment during his Majesty's Pleasure, and withall to be suspended by the *High-Commission-Court* from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions.

The Trial in Star-Chamber against the Bishop

[110 to 127]
Rushw.
part 2d.
p. 416. to p. 450.

[135.]
July 11.
1637.
The Bishop fin'd and imprison'd,

*His Trou-
bles in the
Tower.*

And now a Man of moderate Spleen would think his Adversaries might after this begin to relent and grow mild. But quite contrary, they continu'd all the Time he was in the *Tower* to persecute him, and to bring him to such a wretched condition, if possible, as should make even Themselves to pity him; for he had the Pity of others long before. I should be reckon'd impertinent should I waste Time to tell, how several at this time forsook him and his Interest, since it was no longer their own; so I proceed to an account of his Troubles in his Imprisonment. His Fine to the King (as I told you) was a good Round Sum; and he heard that his Majesty would not bate any thing of it. Therefore that the Weight of it might not oppress him quite, he desir'd that it might be taken up by a Thousand pound Yearly, as his Estate would bear it, till the whole were paid; but could not have so small a Favour granted. Upon which *Kilvert* (the Bishop's vow'd Enemy) is order'd to go to *Bugden* and *Lincoln*, and there to seize upon all he could, and bring

*All his
Things
seiz'd and
plunder'd.*

it immediately into the Exchequer. Away goes he, glad of the Office, and makes sure of all that could be found; Goods of all sorts, Plate, Books and such like, to the value of Ten thousand pounds: of which he never gave Account, but of Eight hundred. The Timber he feld, kill'd the Deer in the Park; sold an Organ that cost 120*l.* for 10*l.* Pictures that cost 400*l.* for 5*l.* made away with what Books he pleas'd; and continu'd Revelling for Three Summers in *Bugden* House: For four Cellars of Wine, Syder, Ale and Bear, with Wood, Hay, Corn and the like, stor'd up for a Year or two, he gave no Account at all. And thus a brave Personal Estate was squander'd away, and not the least of the King's Fine paid all this while; whereas, if it had been manag'd to the best Advantage, it would have been sufficient to discharge the Whole. It were endless to repeat all the Contrivances against his Lordship during his Confinement; the Bills that were drawn up, and the Suits that were commenc'd against him, as it were on purpose to impoverish him, and to plunge him

[128. to
139.]
His Pati-
ence in his
Sufferings.

over Head and Ears in Debt, that so if he procur'd his enlargement from this Prison, he might not be long out of another : All which you may Read elsewhere at large. But this let me add, for an Example to such as may fall into the like Calamities; that this undanted Prelate bore up against all these Afflictions with the Spirit of a Man and something more; which to me is an undeniable Proof of his Innocency ; For, *a wounded spirit who can bear?* And this it was that made his Enemies still more bitter against him, to see him smile through all his Misfortunes; that had a stranger seen his Lordship in the *Tower*, he would never have taken him for a Prisoner, but rather for the Lord and Master of the Place. For here he liv'd with his wonted Chearfulness and Hospitality, and wanted only a larger Allowance to give his Guests a heartier welcome; for now he was confin'd to bare 500*l.* a Year, a great part of which was consum'd

[127.] in the very Fees of the *Tower*. He diverted himself when alone sometimes with writing Latin Poems,

[137.] at other times with the Histories of
such

such as were noted for their Sufferings in former Ages. And for the Three years and a half, that he was confin'd, he was the same Man as else where, excepting that his frequent Law Suits broke his studies often; and it could not be seen, that he was the least alter'd in his Health or the pleasantness of his Temper.

But say some, *Williams* may thank himself for his continu'd Troubles, since he refus'd the Terms of agreement that were offer'd. But who

[135.]
Conditions
of Agree-
ment of-
fer'd him.

must he thank for those Terms, which left him, if accepted of, in worse Circumstances than he was in before? If he intends to be free from any farther vexations in the Star-Chamber; First, he must leave his Bishoprick and Deanery and all his *Commendams*, and take a Bishoprick in *Ireland* or *Wales*, as his Majesty should think fit. Secondly, he must recant his Book. Thirdly, secure all his Fine. And lastly never question any that had been imploy'd by his Majesty against him. To this he answer'd, that he was content to lay his Bishoprick and Deanry at his

[136.]

The Holy
Table,
Name and
Thing.

Majesty's Feet, but was not willing to go into *Ireland*; That he could not recant his Book, which he was ready to justify; that he would pay his Fine, as fast as he was able; and that he would not question any Body. Yet all this was not thought sufficient to atone for him. Then after all, rather than contend with his Sovereign, he offers to resign all he has in the Church, but still to live in *England*. And as for his Book, he was sorry if any thing in it gave offence to his Majesty. But since he must be stript of all he had in the Church, he desir'd to know how much should be left him of all his Lands and Leases to live upon, that the Fine gatherers might not have all: And whether his Pension of 2000 Marks a Year and the 24000 *l.* in Arears for the same, should be taken in Part for the King's Payment. The Answer he receiv'd was, That Pensions are not paid to Men out of Favour, as in the E. of *Bristol's* Case. And as for what should be allow'd him out of his own Estate to live upon, he must not know that till he had wholly submitted himself.

self. Upon this his Lordship writes to the Earl of *Dorset* (who carried these Messages to and fro) *That it were a tempting of God, to part with all he had willingly, and leave himself no Assurance of a Livelihood: That his Debts, if he came out of the Tower, would cast him into another Prison, no better Provision being made for them, than he saw appearance of: That he would never hazard himself into a condition to beg his Bread.* And so from this time, he was resolv'd to exercise his Patience, and wait a better Day.

After this he heard that the Arch-Bishop was like to fall into no small Troubles: and his Majesty's Expedition into the *North* gave our Bishop some respite from his. And when the Articles of Pacification, made at *Berwick*, were burnt in *London*, and *Hacket* brought the news of it to the Bishop in the *Tower*, his Lordship broke out into these Words: *I am right sorry for the King, who is like to be forsaken by his Subjects at home, but far more by all Kings and Princes abroad, who do not love him. But for the Arch-Bishop, he had best*
not

*The Trou-
bles of the
Nation in-
crease.*

[137.]

not meddle with me; for all the Friends he can make, will be too few to save him. And so it unhappily prov'd in a short time. But do you not hope Sir (says Hacket) that such Concussions as you fear will come to pass, will give you your Peace and Liberty? Possibly (says the Bishop) they will.

[110.] And he had drawn up his Case and all his Grievances in 20. Sheets of Paper to present it to the *Parliament* which met now; but it being Dissolv'd, when it had Sate but Three Weeks, he was prevented in his Design. Which sudden Dissolution was perhaps that which hasten'd the Ruin of all Things; and against which the Lord Keeper *Coventry* had Caution'd his Majesty the Year before with his dying Breath, desiring *that his Majesty would take all Distasts from the Parliament, Summon'd against April, with patience, and suffer it to sit without an unkind Dissolution.*

*Another
Parl. call'd An.
1640.
Apr. 13.
[137.]*

On the 3^d of November the *Parliament* Assembled again; and the Bishop of *Lincoln* Petitions by the Mediation of the Queen for his Liberty, and to have his Writ to come as a Peer into the *Parliament House*; which

which was oppos'd by the Lord Keeper *Finch* (Successor to the Lord *Coventry*) and Arch-Bishop *Laud*. But the Upper *House* Petition'd his Majesty for him, and on the 16th of *November*. sent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to Deliver him to their Officer of the *Black Rod*, who conducted him to the *Parliament*, where he sat amongst the Bishops. But he had not been many Hours in the *House*, before he was amaz'd to see such warm Doings, and such strong and thwarting Interests on foot. The Disloyal Party thought themselves sure of the Bishop, and that a Man of his great Spirit would not be unmindful at such a time of his great sufferings, little thinking that true Magnanimity is above the Baseness of a Revenge; so that in a Day or Two they perceiv'd they had mistaken their Man, insomuch that one cry'd out, *We have Conjur'd up a spirit, I would we could lay him again.* For which Adherence of his to the King; and closing again when he saw the *Axe* laid to the Root of *Episcopacy*, some have snarl'd at him. His Majesty was soon acquainted with his

Le-
strange's
K. Ch.
p. 206.
[138, 139,
140, 141.]

The Bi-
shop's Loy-
alty.

Wilson's
Hist. Gr.
Brit. p. 197.
A. W. Co.
and Char.
p. 176.

Loy-

Loyalty, and that he did not refrain to fall sharply upon those Lords, to whom he ow'd his Releasement, for not speaking dutifully of his Majesty, and of his Actions with Reverence. Which when the King heard, he sent for him and had conference with him alone till after Midnight. And to make him some Amends for what was past, he commanded all Orders Fil'd up against him to be cancel'd and eraz'd, that no memorial of them might remain. But for the Bishop to blot such Things out of his Remembrance, it was the very Perfection of Generosity; and Nature had given him a comprehensive Memory, retentive of all Things but Injuries. He was at perfect Charity with all that were so busie and active against him: and when some were set on to try how he stood affected to his Prosecutors, he answer'd, *That if they had no worse Foes than him, they might fear no harm, and that he saluted them with the Charity of a Bishop.* And when Kilvert came to him to crave Pardon and Indemnity for all the Wrongs he had done; *I assure you Pardon* (says the Bishop) *for what*

The Bishop's Charity to his Enemies,

what you have done before; but this is a new fault, that you take me to be of so base a spirit, as to defile my self with treading upon so mean a Creature. Live still by Petty-fogging and Impeaching, and think that I have forgotten you.

Thus have I given you a full Account of the Fall of this great States-Man, and have brought him through all his Troubles and his long Confinement at last to his Liberty again, tho' not to that Splendor wherein we have seen him in the former Reign. Now he is absolutely Sequestred from all his Offices in the State, being at present not so much as of the Council. So that in the remaining Scene of his Life, his utmost Endeavours must be to maintain the Character of a Prelate. And what Troubles shall hence forward befall him cannot properly be call'd his, but the Nation's; in which indeed he bore a great share, as an eminent Member of that Church whose Miseries now began *to close her in on every side*. So that what there remains of his Life I shall refer to my Fourth and last Part.

The End of the Third Part.

An



*An Account of such Actions as
more immediatly relate to
him as a Clergy-Man and a
Bishop.*

PART IV.

HAVING related his Actions as a States-Man, I proceed now to give an Account of him as a *Divine*. A Character not so full of Pomp, perhaps, nor so dazzling to the Eyes of the People; but yet, if we seriously consider it, more glorious, and of an higher nature than the other. And I call him now from the service of an Earthly Prince, to attend upon the King of Kings, the Lord of Hosts, the Almighty Creatour and Governour of the World.

*A Re-
collection
of some
Things in
the first
part.*

Some Passages relating to him this way were mention'd in the First, and the Beginning of the Second Part; where

where when Chancellor *Egerton* dy'd, we left him, (preparing for his Cure at *Walgrave*) to carry him on in his Business as in a Lay-Capacity. Now therefore we will resume him here, and trace him in the Church, from the time of his Removal to *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, quite down to his dying Day.

After he had taken his Doctor's Degree in the Year 1617. when the bustle of the Commencement was over, he retir'd to his Cure. Where he had been at the Expence, before he came, of Building, Gardening and Planting, so as to make the place fit and pleasant for all seasons of the Year. So that when he came, he had no preparations to make, but immediately to fall to the Enjoyment of his Retirement. And to make this compleat, and to secure himself from Laziness (the Disgrace of most retir'd Persons) he had provided a choice Collection of Books: to which he apply'd himself so very closely, that nothing but his great Temperance in his Diet could have preserv'd his Body from the Decay that his too much studying must necessarily

Dr. Williams settles at Walgrave.

(33.)

(34.)

rily have brought upon him. Nor was he exemplary to the Countrey-Clergy only as a Student, but was likewise very Religious in the Observance of all the other Parts of his duty. For he read Prayers constantly upon *Wednesdays* and *Frydays*, expounded the Catechism in *Lent* and upon all Holy-days, and Preach'd duly Twice every *Sunday* at *Walgrave* or at *Grafton*, performing his Turn too at *Kettering*, a Market-Town hard by, in a Lecture supplied by a *Combination* of the best Divines thereabout. It was a common saying with him, *that the way to get Credit from the Nonconformists was to out-Preach them.* And so well was he lik'd for his Preaching, that his Church us'd to be throng'd with Gentry of the neighbouring Parishes, as well as his own.

His Hospitality at Walgrave.

What was most remarkable of him while he was here, was his generous and open House-keeping, which was indeed very commendable in him. This made him very much visited by the Clergy all about, Rich as well as Poor. The Nobility and Gentry too were fond of him, and resorted frequently

quently to his House, not for the sake of his Table, but for the diverting Entertainment his good Con-
sorts of Musick afforded them. For he kept with him the best Voices and Instruments he could get, being one that was mightily given this way himself. As by these means he lay'd ^{His Cha-}
Obligations upon the Gentlemen, so ^{rity.}
he purchas'd the Prayers of the Poor by his Charity. If any of his Poor Parishioners were sick, he was very constant in going to visit them, to pray with them and to bless them. And, to help them all that he could in their Afflictions, he would supply them with Money, and very often pay their Physitians himself; and would order something that was comfortable for them out of his own Kitch-
ing, as Broths, and Cordial Decoctions. There are few Instances, I believe, (if any) of those that grew the poorer for their Charity: Dr. *Williams* I am sure found it otherwise; for at this time, to increase yet his plentiful In-
come (as tho' it had been so order'd by Providence to maintain his great Li-
berality) he had a considerable Le-
gacy fell to him by the Death of his

228 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams.*

(36.) Kinsman *John Panton*, Servant at the same time with him to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*: and immediately after this he was made Dean of *Salisbury*: So true is that observation of *Solomon's*, *the Liberal soul shall be made fat.*

He dis-
charges
well the
Office of a
Justice of
the Peace.
But he continued still (tho' Dean) at *Walgrave*, the Place where he was so universally respected and belov'd. And what made him the more so, was his Office he had there of being Justice of the Peace; which he discharg'd with all the Skill and Conduct, as if he had been bred up to the Law. As he lov'd his Countrey, so he made it his Business to serve and defend it, and that with all the undaunted Courage imaginable; but especially if any of the Clergy were oppress'd, to be sure he was very active and resolute in maintaining their Rights. If any private Quarrels and Bickerings were brought before him, he very rarely granted his Warrant to the Parties to proceed; but did all he could with Advice and fair speeches to reconcile them in his Buttery or Cellar: and rather than fail, he would pay the Damages all
or

or in part, which the injur'd Person demanded. This doubtless is a piece of the most Christian-like Charity, that is to be met with in any Example; to save his poor Neighbours not only from emptying their purses in vexatious Law-suits, but likewise to keep them from running into those most unchristian and devillish passions of Hatred and Revenge, which (God knows) among such inconsiderate Wretches too often end in Bloodshed and Murder. But he had not follow'd this Practice long, before he was in a great Measure forc'd to lay it aside, when he found how some Rogues would put upon his good Nature, and fall out on purpose, that he might be at the Charge of making them Friends. Which shews that there is not out of Cities so much innocence and primitive simplicity as some have imagin'd, and that there are many shrew'd Countrey-fellows as cunning and politick in their way, as the Courtiers are in theirs.

Thus the Dr. continued at *Walgrave* doing Good, and very much

P 3 esteem'd

*He quits
the Deane-
ry of Salis-
bury for
that of
Westmin-
ster.*

See p. 57.

(45.)

*Takes care
of the
School at
Westmin-
ster.*

esteem'd for above Two years; when the Deanery of *Westminster* being at that time void, he requested of his New Patron the Marquess of *Buckingham*, that he might exchange the Deanery of *Salisbury* for that of *Westminster*, which was granted to him. Which piece of Preferment he valued so much the more, because it was near the Court, and so the fitter for his purpose, who probably had still an Eye to some farther Advancement. His Predecessors here were Men very eminent in their Time: Two above all were such incomparable Patterns, that it was the height of his Ambition to emulate them; Dr. *Andrews* for his great Care and Incouragement of Learning in the School, and Abbot *Islip* for his vast Expences upon the *Minster*. As soon therefore as he was possesst of the Deanery, he took the School into his Consideration first: and there was scarce a week (when he was in the College) but he would go to the several Classes and instruct the Lads and take an Account of them, that so he might countenance and incourage the most hopeful and those of the

the best Parts. And seldom it was (even when he kept the great Seal) that he omitted to call out some of them to stand before him at Meal-Times (when he was most at Leisure) to give an account of their progress and Towardliness. Which notice of his repen'd the Youth so fast, that the Number sent out to both Universities was almost double to those that were remov'd in former Elections. Thus he had compass'd one considerable Part of his Desires. And the next Object of his Elumination was Abbot *Islip*. To give him the better opportunity to shew his virtue this way, he found the Church in a very great Decay. So he began to repair it at the *South-East* part, which look'd so much the more ruinous because it join'd to *Henry* the 7th's Chappel, a later Building. In the next place he proceeded to the *North-West* part, which looks to the great Sanctuary. This was very far gone, and the great Buttresses were almost crumbled to Dust through the injury of the Weather; which he rebuilt with durable Materials, and adorn'd them with elegant

(46.)
Repairs
the Abby.
Heylyn in
his Obs. on
Chur. Hist.
of Brit.
p. 273.
detracts
from Wil-
liams's
Magnifi-
cence, but
is suffici-
ently an-
swer'd at
[92, 93.]

*Part. 2.
p. 507.*

*(47.)
Makes a
Library.*

*Found
four Scho-
larships.*

Statues; among which there was one to the memory of *Islip*, and another for his good Master King *James*, as *Sanderſon* relates in his Reign, tho' Bishop *Hacket* ſays nothing of it. So that in this Work (all of his own coſt) he expended 4500*l.* After he had taken care thus of the Fabrick of the Church, he bethought himſelf of the decent performance of God's Service in it; and to this End he procur'd the beſt Muſick both for Organ and Voices, that could poſſibly be got. After this, he made a very good Library of a waſte room in the Eaſt ſide of the Cloyſters, furniſh'd it with Deſks, Chains, Books and other neceſſaries to the value of 500*l.* and more. And here he laid his choiceſt Manuscripts and Parchments. Beſides theſe and other Benefits the College receiv'd from his bounty, he diſcharg'd a Debt of 300*l.* for them, which he found, when he came to look into their Accounts, they had contracted by their Entertainments and Treats. Not long after, he founded Four Scholarſhips, the Scholars diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt by their violet Gowns, for whoſe maintainance he pur-

purchas'd Lands. And he did not only share his Riches amongst them here, but likewise, when in those Days a great part of the Liberties of the City were threatned to be cut off by the Encroachments of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and the Knight Marshal, he withstood them manfully (as appears from a Letter of his to the Duke) and would accept of no Composition to let them share in the Priviledges, which by Right they never had, but preserv'd the Charter of the Place intire in its Jurisdiction and ancient Immunities. So that he was happy indeed in the Place, but the Place was abundantly more happy in him.

Cabal. p.
283.

He had not been Dean long before he was made Lord Keeper, being sworn into that Office on the 10th of *July*, 1621. having entred upon his Deanery on the 12th of the same Month in the foregoing Year. And immediately after the Great Seal was deliver'd to him he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, at which time, so great was his Favour with the King, that he obtain'd Three Bishopricks more for those he recommended to his Majesty. And at this very juncture of time it was that that

[65.]
July 26.
1621.

famous Accident happen'd of Archbishop *Abbot's* Killing the *L. Zouch's* Keeper in *Bramshill-Park*. Which Mischance defer'd the Consecration of these Bishops for some time; and tho' his Majesty (after a long and doubtful Debate amongst the *Civilians*) did at the last assail the unfortunate and innocent Prelate from all Irregularity

[68.] by the Broad Seal; yet the scruple stuck so much upon the Lord Keeper (as he gives his Judgment of the Fact in a Letter to the Duke) and upon the other Three Bishops Elect, that they besought the King, they might be consecrated by some other Bishops: and

Cabal. p.
284.

Cypr. Ang.
p. 88.

so it was, the Lord Keeper on the 11th of *November* being Consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal, according to the Statute of King *Henry VIII.*

Cypr. Ang.
p. 87.

But I cannot see how Dr *Heylyn* could by a favourable Construction gather out of the Keeper's foremention'd Letter to the Duke, that this great Scruple of his proceeded not from his Caution, but merely from Interest, and that he had the Chair of *Canterbury* in his Eye, thinking (as he gueses)

to

to compass it, by declaring the Archbishop Irregular. Certainly when an Historian is left to his Guesſes, he ſhould always incline to a favourable Interpretation of the Actions of others.

The Lord Keeper by reaſon of his great Imployment in the State, could not be ſpar'd, to reſide upon his Dioceſs and have himſelf an immediate Inſpection over his Clergy. But tho' he was *absent in Body*, yet was he *preſent in Mind*; and took all the poſſible Care he could to have a faithful account, from ſuch able and diligent Perſons as he intruſted, of all Occurrences in every Pariſh: over and above, he had the Name of every Parſon and Vicar, could tell what they were all of them, as to their Learning, as well as their manner of Life and Converſation. He did (in ſhort) as much as a Biſhop could do, while for the ſpace of almoſt Five Years his ſervice to his King and his Countrey would not permit him to be reſident. And they knew not that they miſs'd him, till he came to live amongſt them, and made a large Amends for his Abſence when he ſettled at *Bugden*. But let his Buſ'neſs be

[86.]

be never so great, he was mindful of his Office as a Bishop, and never neglected Ordinations; every *Lent* too he preach'd before the King at his Chappel, and constantly upon the great Festivals of our Church, at *Westminster-Abbey*: on which Days he chanted the Prayers, and administred the Sacraments. And, it seems, there was but too great need of such Patterns, as the Bishop was, for preaching in those Times: for the King's Indulgence towards the *Papists*, and the Treaty with *Spain* going on at the same Time, made the Pulpits perfectly Declamatory; but above all they rung against the *Spanish Match*; insomuch that his Majesty silenc'd some, imprison'd some, and threatn'd to arraign others for their Lives, had not the Keeper interpos'd to mediate for them; upon which he was set on work by his Majesty to draw up some Directions for the due limiting of the Preachers, in which Bishop *Laud* too had a hand, as Dr. *Heylyn* says. Which Directions, together with his Majesty's Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (bearing Date *Aug. 4. 1622.*) you may read at large in several Historians. Which

In-

Wilson.
Hist. Gr.
Br. p. 198.

Cypr. Ang.
p. 97.

Will. Hist.
Gr. Br. p.
198, 199.

Instructions, how a great many murdered against them then, putting an ill Construction upon what was well meant, you may see in Dr. *Heylyn*; to whom I refer you, because at the same Time that he clears the King and *Laud*, he likewise vindicates *Williams*, who according to *Hacket*, was the principal Contriver of that Scheme.

Cabal. p.
112.

Cypr. Ang.
p. 99, 100.

[89.]

The present posture likewise of the King's Affairs (in the Year 1621.) made him think it convenient, that there should be Favour shewn to the *Popish* Recusants, and to release the poorer sort out of Prison; which made the People very uneasy. And our Bishop (then Lord Keeper) being imploy'd to copy out the King's Letters in this Affair to the Judges, and to set the *Broad-Seal* to his Majesty's Writs; he was traduc'd for a Favourer of the Church of *Rome*; nay so far, by a Ranting Fellow about the Town, that he was not far from receiving a *Cardinal's* Cap from *Rome* for his Services. When first he heard of this great Scandal, and that one *Sadler* was the Author of it, he pass'd it by with Contempt, and said only, That *the* Re-

Frankl.
Annals, p.
69.

[93.]

238 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

Frankl.
Annals, p.
69.

[91.]

Cabal. p.
293.

Reporters saw the Oar under Water, and thought it was crooked. Nevertheless since Offence was taken at this Indulgence to the Papists, the Lord Keeper (to vindicate his Majesty as well as himself) in a Letter to the Lord Viscount Anan, truly satisfies the World as to the Reasons of it; which Letter is now extant in several Books.

Cabal. p.
298.

But let this one passage suffice, to shew how averse the Keeper was to the *Romish* Church, and how very jealous he was of their endeavouring to establish their Church-Government amongst us: When *Buckingham* was with the Prince at *Madrid*, he sends him a Letter, dated *August 30. 1623.* wherein he writes thus: ‘*Dr. Bishop*
‘the new Bishop of *Calcedon*, is come
‘to *London* privately, and I am much
‘troubled thereabouts, not know-
‘ing what to advise his Majesty in
‘this posture, as things stand at
‘this present. If you were shipp’d
‘(with the *Infanta*) the only Counsel
‘were, to let the Judges proceed with
‘him presently, to hang him out of the
‘way, and the King to blame my Lord
‘of *Cantuar.* or my self for it. But
‘before

‘before you be shipp’d in such form
 ‘and manner, I dare not assent, or
 ‘connive at such a Course. It is (my
 ‘Gracious Lord) a most insolent part,
 ‘and an Offence (as I take it) against
 ‘our *Common-Law* (and not the Sta-
 ‘tutes only, which are dispenc’d withal)
 ‘for an *Englishman*, to take such a
 ‘Consecration, without the King’s
 ‘Consent; and especially to use any
 ‘Episcopal Jurisdiction in this King-
 ‘dom, without the Royal Assent; and
 ‘Bishops have been in this State, put
 ‘to their Fine and Ransom for so do-
 ‘ing, three hundred Years ago.

Add to this, that some of the *Romish*
 party petition’d my Lord of *Bucking-*
ham for Titulary *Popish* Prelates in
 this Kingdom; upon which (not know-
 ing well what to think of the Matter)
 he sends to the Keeper for his Advice,
 who immediately with the strongest
 Reasons he could urge, put a stop to
 the Motion. After this, when the Prince
 was in *Spain*, the Keeper was cry’d
 up afresh for a Promoter of the *Popish*
 Interest, thinking (as they falsely urg’d
 against him) that a Match with the *In-*
fanta would cause a Toleration of that
 Religion, and then who likelier to be
 pre-

[94.]

[122.]

prefer'd than he for his good Services. But a Paper, which at that time he presented to the King to cure Popular Discontents, shall answer for his Integrity; which Proposals had been publish'd, *had not the long Treaty set in a Cloud.* But the Original Draught of them is now to be seen in *B. Hacket.* And I am apt to believe, had his Book been but publish'd, or the several Original Papers in it, before the Historians of those Times wrote; that Bishop *Williams* had escap'd abundance of groundless Slanders, excepting we can suppose some of them obstinately bent to write for a Party, point-blank against their Knowledge.

And thus I have (I hope) rescu'd him from the Imputation of *Popery*; a Slander, w^{ch} it has been the hard Fate of our greatest and worthiest Prelates to suffer under, occasion'd all along by the Superstition of the Vulgar. But I shall clear him farther yet in this Point, when I shall tell my Reader, That he was by a far Greater Party judg'd to be *Puritannically* given; for I think our Bishop is the only Person of his Order, that I remember aspersed with two such contradicting Characters. And

[95.]
Heylyn's
Observat.
on the Hist.
of K. Ch.
p. 137. 138.

I shall therefore labour the more earnestly to clear him in this point, because this last Calumny stuck closer to him. And at this very Day there are a great many living, that will hardly be brought over to think, the Bishop was a stanch Church-Man at the bottom. So that if I can remove this last Objection, I shall do not only a piece of Justice to his Lordship's Memory, but likewise some Service to the Episcopal Order it self: since the World is generally so unjust in its Censures, as to scandalize a whole Profession, if but one of its Members fail. And that I may not be thought to proceed out of Prejudice upon this point, I shall make no use of Authorities, and the good Word of such as were known to be the Bishop's Friends, but shall compare the Bishop with himself, and then leave my Reader to judge impartially what the Result may be; and what Interpretation his Actions will bear, making no Grains of Allowance for either Ballance.

First of all then, let me make an Observation, which tho' it may at first blush seem but a Trifle, yet if examin'd to the bottom may prove

Q

of

*The Bp. no
Puritan:
Prov'd
from several
Arguments.*

First Argument.

of more force than any thing I know has as yet been urg'd in his behalf. You may remember in the *Second Part*, that the King had order'd him (when he was then but Dean of *Westminster*) to write a small Treatise for the use of the Lady *Catherine Manners*, who being Married to *Buckingham*, was newly converted from the *Romish* Church to ours. In the Letter, which he sent to the Marquess with some of the Copies, he tells him, that he *translated the Prayers from ancient Writers, that her Ladyship might see, we have not coin'd a new Worship, or service of God.* Now 'tis a very fair Conjecture, that, had he been Fanatically given, he had been apt to betray himself at so fair an opportunity, and 'tis odds but the motions of the Spirit (as they blaspheme) had led him from the reasonable sacrifice of the Ancients to some Enthusiastical transports of his own. I leave my Reader to improve this Argument, from the Hint I have given him, while I seek for somewhat else in the Bishops defence. I pass by his Benefactions to *St. John's College in Cambridge*, (no favourer or nurse-

nursery, I am sure, of *Puritans*) till I shall have time to give a more particular Account of those matters..

How great an admirer he was of our Liturgy, and how forward to promote the credit of it beyond Seas, is evident from the care he took to have it turn'd into *Spanish* and *French*, when the Treaties with those two Nations were in agitation. But especially he retriev'd the credit of our Religion with the *Spaniards*, who before that time took us for perfect Atheists, and thought that we had cast off all Religion when we shook off the *Pope*; and that we never us'd the Name of God, but profainly. Infomuch that the Constable of *Castile* being sent to swear the Peace formerly concluded with *Spain*, when he understood the Bus'ness was to be perform'd in the Chappel, where some Anthems were to be sung, he desir'd, that whatsoever was sung, God's Name might not be us'd in it, and then he was content they should sing what they pleas'd.

Second Arg.

Spott-wood Ch. Hist. of Scotland. p. 530.

I may add here as a great argument of his Love to our Church,

Third Arg.

Q₂

how

(103, &c.) how earnest he was to dissuade the Duke of *Buckingham* from the sale of the Church Lands, which was a thing first put into his Head and promoted by Dr. *Preston*; to satisfy whom Bishop *Williams* offer'd to give him his Deanery of *Westminster*, if he would but desist and urge the matter no farther to the Duke. He took what care lay in his power too, that no unworthy Members crept into the Church, and would intercede for Men of Merit with the Duke, even to the incurring of his Grace's displeasure; as may be seen from Two of his Letters yet extant. But to be sure when he prefer'd any himself, they were Men the best qualified for Virtue and Learning, and well affected to our most excellent Liturgy and Church-Government. All which things may for the present serve to take off the Reader's prejudice; not but that as we go on he will meet with several hints, which a Man of Reason may himself improve into so many arguments for the Orthodoxy of this Prelate.

His care to keep Foreign Religions out of the Nation.

I cannot tell where to insert the Two following passages more properly

perly than here, and that because they seem to have some small relation to what we have just now concluded upon. The *Braziers* among the poor distressed Protestants in *Bohemia* petition'd King *James*, for leave to come over into *England* with their Wives and Children; upon which condition they would bring along with them their Substance, to the value of Two hundred thousand pounds, and submit themselves absolutely with all they had to his Majesty's Customs and Taxes. But then they desir'd that they might live in a Body, and have a free Enjoyment of their own Religion apart from us. His Majesty, thinking it might turn to his Advantage, was complying; but our Bishop (who was then Lord Keeper) dissuaded him, arguing from the Example of the *Dutch* and *French*, who were settled amongst us. Who indeed brought advantage by their Manufacture to the Nation; but then the Discipline, which by virtue of their Patent they transplanted too, did far more damage to our Church, than they by their Industry could profit the State.

246 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

He ap-
proves not
of the
High-
Commis-
sion Court.
(97.)

1. Eliz.
Cap. 1

(98.)

The next thing I would mention is with reference to the *High Commission Court*, in which after he was Dean of *Westminster* he always had a Vote amongst others; but so little did he relish this Ecclesiastical Court, that all the time he was Dean, he appear'd but once at *Lambeth* when the Court sat. And he would say, that the Institution of the Court was without exception good: and that no harm was to be fear'd from a good Prince in that Court; but then if God should give us a *King in his Anger*, given to oppression, he had a Statute would enable him to act wickedness by a Law. And besides this he did not approve of the multiplicity of Causes that were brought in here, and the severity of the Censures in this Court. He thought it hard that a Minister should be stript of all he had, if a scandalous Crime were prov'd against him. *But above all (said he) there is nothing of Brotherhood nor of Humanity in this, when we have cast a Priest out of doors and left him no shelter to cover his Head; that we make no provision for him out of his own for Term of Life,*

Life, to keep him from the Extremities of Starving or begging, those deform'd Miseries. And this is all that I find remarkable of him as a Church-Man till such time as the Great Seal was taken from him.

So that now we enter upon a fresh Scene of his Life, which will hold on quite to the End. For from hence forward we must not consider him in a Mixt Character, because he was no longer in any Office in the State; and tho' yet a while, he had the Title of a Privy-Counsellor, yet he was never admitted to the Board. And his Adversaries by their good Will would not so much as let him sit in Parliament; so that had he not had courage sufficient to grapple with them, they had depriv'd him at this time of his Right of Peerage. For Four years after his Consecration he had not time, for the multitude of his State Affairs, so much as to make his appearance in a Visitation amongst his Clergy. But nevertheless his Government was such as gave content to his whole Diocess. He manag'd all things with the greatest exactness by faithful Substitutes, who

From hence forward he has no Office in the State.

(86.) [28.] Four years absent from his Diocess.

[29.]
*Comes to
 live at
 Bugden.*

gave him a just account of all things: so that he knew even the Name and Character of every one of his Clergy, and took care to encourage the Deserving. And they knew not that they wanted him, till he came now to live at *Bugden*, and made them a large Amends for his former Absence. He found the House here quite out of Repair and all Order, and the Place it self indeed not very entertaining, considering that he came here in the beginning of Winter; for it is but a very dirty Countrey for that Season. But in the space of one year he made a good Dwelling out of a ruinous Pile, and the most costly Furniture he had was the curious Collection of Paintings he had made. He beautified the Chappel too with all the Expence it was capable of. After this he planted Woods and Walks, fenc'd the Park and stor'd it with Deer. And he bought in all the Leases belonging to the Demeasns, which through mis-managment were let out to the very Gates. His delight lay chiefly in the most innocent Pleasures of Gardening, so that he was profuse in his Expences this way,

way, in Arbours, Flowers of the choicest sort, Orchards, Pools, Fish-Ponds, with a Walk rais'd three foot from the Ground, of about a Mile in compass pal'd in, and shaded on each side with Trees; for walking was his chief Exercise, which he us'd in fair Weather for two Hours and more every Day.

During the Time he liv'd here, the Morning and Evening Service at his Chappel was decently perform'd, with the Organ and other Musick, and the best Voices that could be procur'd, the Bishop himself often bearing a *Te-* nor Part amongst them. And the Altar here was as in all Cathedral Churches, adorn'd with all things proper, as rich Plate, and other costly Utenfils. And this (notwithstanding a worthy Person has put a different Interpretation on his Actions) seems a convincing Argument, if you compare the Bishop all along with himself, that he was in his Heart a great Admirer of Decency in Divine Worship in the highest Degree; however he might think fit in some Parish Churches to comply with the Weakness of the People, rather than give Offence to them. And I know not

[30.]
Divine Ser-
vice de-
cently per-
form'd at
his Chap-
pel.

Heylyn's
Observ. on
Lestr. Hist.
of K. Cha.
p. 136. &c.

what will become of Charity and good Nature, if a Man must be counted of a Party with all those he carries himself civilly and obliging to. I am sure if *Jews* and Infidels, deserve gentle usage from Us, those that have a far neerer Relation to Us, do much more deserve it. But I go on: The Bishop's passion for *Musick* was so well known, that the greatest Masters resorted to him from *London*, especially in the Summer-Time; to whom he was very liberal in his Gratifications; to one in particular, a Gentleman of the King's Chappel, he gave a Lease worth five hundred pounds.

His Hospitality.

Sander-
son's *King*
James *par.*
2. p. 507. K.
Ch. p. 24.

The Concourse that came to the Bishop's Chappel was very great; and his Table was for the most part well fill'd with Gentry, insomuch that one, who can hardly find in his Heart to give him a good Word, says, *That he liv'd at Bugden the most Episcopal of any of his Predecessors.* All the great Persons and Nobility that had occasion to travel that way, would call upon his Lordship, from whom they and their Retinue were sure of a hearty Welcome, and the best Entertainment. All the Neighb'ring Clergy too, nay
and

and the very Yeomanry of Fashion, were free to come to his Table; and indeed he seldom fate down without some of the Clergy. I need not mention his Charity to the Poor; for if he was so careful of them when he was Rector at *Walgrave*, to be sure he did not take less care of them now he was Bishop, and more he could not well take. Of all things he did not love to live sparingly, and seclude himself from good Conversation: And it was his Saying, That he would spend his own while he had it; for he thought his Adversaries would not permit him long to enjoy it. And while some thought his Magnificence would run him into Debt, he was provident enough to look after his own Concerns, and to keep within Bounds, tho' they were very large ones.

[32.]

Had the Bishop not liv'd in the Plenty with which God had blest him, yet his Discourse and Artful way of suiting himself to his Guests was so very entertaining, that he was not like to be much alone. The Men of Wit and Learning from *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, made him frequent Visits, so that very often, take the Company

His pleasant Conversation.

pany and Entertainments together, *Bugden* might resemble one of the Universities in *Commencement-Time*. And when he had Scholars about him, and such Company as could relish his Discourse, he would very often keep them up till Midnight, or later. But I must not forget one Thing of which he was always mindful at his Table. At Dinner a Chapter was read in the *English Bible*, by one of the Choiristers, and at Supper another in *Latin* by one of his Gentlemen, for there was none of them but had at least so much Learning.

The Government of his Family.

[37. 38.]

And this leads me naturally to speak of the Government of his Family; in which perhaps he was something too remiss, not out of any Neglect, or that he lov'd Disorder; but because he was not severe enough in punishing his Servants for their Faults. For a small Repentance would very often with him atone for a considerable Misdemeanour, which proceeded from a Good-natur'd Opinion he had, that there was some hopes in time even of the worst of Men, and that none were so bad, but that they had some Good in them. Hence it was that he would
chide

chide very loud and angrily, but seldom proceeded any farther. But yet he discarded one or two that were incorrigible in their Disorders, and one for his Treachery, in transcribing some of his Letters, which he found in his Study, and sending them to his Enemies, to make their Advantage of them. But we must consider that his Lordship's Retinue was great, and not a few of them Sons to very good Men, which were prefer'd to wait upon him, not for the sake of Wages, but for the Advantage of being in a good Family. And these would not take it well to be kept under so much as the other Servants. These considerations do alleviate (tho' not excuse) what some laid to the Bishop's Charge, that he knew better how to keep himself blameless, than those he had about him. But what some censur'd him for, was, his permitting a *Comedy* to be acted once or twice before him in his Hall; nay, and upon a *Sunday* Evening, upon which he had Ordain'd too, as one affirms; which Circum-

*Is censur'd
for having
Plays acted*
*Heylyn's
Obs. on the
Ch. Hist. of
Brit. p. 243.*
stance, if true, I wonder how it came to be omitted by the Author of his Life, whodoubtless knew the Bishops private
Actions

Actions the best of any Man. And he affirms, That *Lincoln* did no more in recreating himself with such Diversions, then he had seen that Grave Prelate Archbishop *Bancroft* do at *Lambeth*. And all that *B. Williams* answer'd, to such as objected against his pleasant way of Living when he was in Disgrace, was, *That he knew not what he had done, to live the worse for their sakes, that did not love him.* And we may believe, that if he thought there was any ill, or any real occasion for Offence in what he did, that he would have abridg'd himself in his Diversions; for he was nicely scrupulous of any thing that he could in Charity suppose might be turn'd into a Scandal: for which reason, being himself Unmarried, he kept only Men Servants in his House. But nothing can be said more in praise of the Bishop's Family, than that it was the Nursery of several Noblemens Sons: Those of the Marquess of *Hartford*, of the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Leicester*, with many other Young Gentlemen about an Age, whereof some were his Relations, and his Countrey-men. These had Tutors,

His Caution to avoid Scandal.

[35.]

(36.)
Young Nobility educated in his Family.

tors, of whom the Bishop took an Account, how their Pupils improv'd in Virtue and Learning. And to those that were in a manner fit for the Universities, before he sent them from him, he read himself a brief System of *Logick*; which Lectures even his own Servants frequented, that were capable of such Instructions. But his principal Care was, that they should be thoroughly grounded in the Principles of Religion; for which reason he committed not a Trust of so great Importance wholly to his Chaplain, but every *Lent* examin'd them every one from the Person of the highest Quality to the meanest Servant, in the Fundamental Questions of the Catechism.

The Magnificence of his Hospitality shews that Bishop *Williams* was free-hearted and generous; but if we add to this his great Liberality to Gentlemen of narrow Fortunes, and to poor hopeful Scholars in both Universities, we shall hardly be able to find his equal. For his Disbursements this way every year amounted to a Thousand, sometime to Twelve hundred pounds. * And there is a remarkable

[33.]
His Liberality.

* Wilson's
Hist. of Gr.
Brit. p. 197.

markable Instance in History of his Bounty, which I will insert here. When *Monsieur de Molin* (a Famous Minister) fled over into *England* in the Time of the Persecution in *France*; the Bishop hearing of him, order'd his Chaplain Dr. *Hacket* to make him a Visit from him. And guessing that he might very probably be in want, he bids him carry him some Money, not naming any sum. Upon which *Hacket* said, that he could not give him less than Twenty Pound. *I did demurre upon the Sum* (says the Bishop) *to try you: is Twenty Pound a fit Gift for me to give a Man of his Parts and Deserts? Take an Hundred, and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him myself.* Which afterwards he did, and was as good as his Word in supplying his Wants while he was in *England*. I may mention here how great a Patron he was to his Countrey-man *John Owen* the Epigrammatist, whom he maintain'd for several years; and when he died, he buried him and erected a Monument for him at his own cost. Upon which generosity

Athenæ
Oxon. Vol.
i. p. 400.

An. 1622.

rosity of his to this little Poet, one of the Fraternity has compos'd an Epigram. There was hardly an ingenious Person in *England*, but what he encourag'd; and that very wretch that wrote so infamous a Libel on this Bishop, had often experienc'd his Liberality; so that here I must clear Mr. *Cleaveland* from the scandal of it; for, not to mention that some Authors do acquit him, I am over and above inform'd from a Worthy Person now living, who has discours'd with some of Mr. *Cleaveland's* Friends, that he ever disown'd the Satyr in his Poems against the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*.

Rich.
Bruch.
Epig. He-
caton..
Othavo.
Numb. 3.
David
Lloyd's
Life of
Williams.
Printed
with
Cleave-
land's
Poems.

We have had occasion before to mention what vast Sums this Bishop laid out upon Works of Magnificence and Building; but yet we have not mention'd how he rebuilt the ruinous Palace of *Lincoln*, and brought it in Three years Time up to as great Strength and Beauty as it was in at first. And because the Place was remote from any helps to Learning, he design'd a Library there; Timber was hewn out, Books bought, and other Benefactions ready, but the Founder's

His Ex-
pence upon
publick
Works.
[34.]

Wood.
Antiq.
Oxon.
p. 171.

der's Troubles, coming thick now upon him, put a stop to the proceedings; the Books were squander'd away, and the Souldiers took the Timber to make Fortifications. To these great Works of his we may add, the repairing of one side of *Lincoln College in Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Lincoln* is their *Visitor*; and the building of a most elegant Chappel for them. All which considering them to be done by the Bishop after his Fortunes began to decline, shew that, had his Power been but equal to his Will, his publick Benefactions had equal'd those of most Princes.

[39.]
He Preaches frequently.

Having spoken of his Hospitality, his Charity and his Magnificence, we will now consider him more immediately in his Episcopal Functions. And to mention first the Example that he gave to all his Clergy by his Preaching, his great frequency wherein made some set him out to the King as an upholder and encourager of *Non-Conformists*; which did not at all make him slacken his diligence, for he expected his praise from God, and

and not from Men. And from this Principle, I suppose, proceeded the great care he took in his Ordinations, without any respect of Persons, to lay hands only upon such as were duly qualified. Their Morals he could only judge of by the recommendations and testimonials of others; but their Intellectuals he would soon fathom, and measure the Compass of their Learning; and he would not admit any so much as to the Office of a Deacon, that was not a Graduate with us, or in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and his Answer to them was, *that it was not his Custom*. But so scrupulous was he as to their Competency in the Knowledge of Divine Matters, that when one that was a Minister, a Mr. of Arts and a Wit too, was presented to a considerable Living, when he perceiv'd the small stock he had of Learning, he would not give him Institution, till he had set him for three Months to read a System of Divinity. In those that he himself prefer'd neither Friends nor Favour nor any other consideration bias'd him. But commonly he was a Patron to such as never sought him;

[41.]
His Ordinations.

[42.]

such whose humility obscur'd their Worth.

His moderation.

In the Beginning of King *Charles's* Reign there broke out a Division among the great Men of our Church, some approving and some disapproving of the Conclusions of the Synod of *Dort*. Which perhaps would never have risen to such a ferment, had things been carried with more indifferency, and had deserving Men on both sides (without regard to Parties) been encourag'd. This was always the opinion of our Prelate, who propos'd for his Pattern *Whitgift, Bancroft, Harsnet, Andrews, Barlow, Overal*, and such like, who pleas'd all sides indifferently. Hence it is that he was affable and kind to the *Puritans*, whom first he won upon by kindness, and then would bring them over by his Arguments. And he told his Majesty too, that he took it to be the truest Policy, to buy over some of the Leaders of that Party to the Church with some good Preferments, that so they might bring their Followers with them.

His Courts well order'd.

To bring him now into his Courts; his knowledge in the Laws of the Land,

Land, the *Civil* and the *Canon* Law, qualified him excellently to discharge his duty there punctually. He us'd to lament the narrow bounds the *Civilians* had for their Practice, and the small Encouragement for their Studies; but then he told them, that unless they proceeded with great integrity in their Courts, their Little would soon come to nothing. He watch'd his Officers narrowly, that they were not exacting in their Fees, and would not suffer them to make Bus'ness expensive by needless delays; nor would he trust his Chancellour and Commissaries in a Cause of any moment, but always took it in hand himself. And so willing was [44.] he to right the People and to ease them from all possible Trouble, that he would often ride to those Parts of his Diocess that were farthest from his Home, to keep his Court, where such as had Causes to come on might be at hand to attend them. And he would not suffer the Church-Wardens to be cited about placing the Communion-Table, nor the People for not coming to the Rail to receive the Sacrament. Whereas the Practice

262 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

of *Laud* was quite contrary, who requir'd a strict confirmity in all Things.

[47, to 61.] I shall not dwell here upon his Consecration of Churches, nor give a particular Account of his two Visitations in this Diocess; in the first of which he discover'd an Imposture, that pretended to Inspiration at *St. Ives* in *Huntington-shire*; and in the second it is worth the Readers while (that has so much leisure for his diversion) to see how he was entertain'd at a Religious Family of the *Farrars* at *Little-Giding* in the same County, and how kindly he encourag'd them to persist in the Service of God. Nor shall I mention here the circumstances of his triennial Visitations over the whole Diocess, and the Charges deliver'd by him at such Times; one of which given at *Bedford*, in the end of the Year 1634. you may read at large in Bishop *Hacket*, together with what things I mention'd before. But this let me add before I have done with his Episcopal Functions, that there was no Prelate more frequented than he was, to compound Differences, and to make up

His Visitations.

An. 1629.

Is much resorted to in Differences & in scruples of Conscience.

up Agreements, which else might have broke out into expensive Law-Suits; and to settle Cases of Conscience, and those mostly in Matrimonial Scruples. And when he thought the doubting Person would not be satisfy'd with Discourse, he was at the trouble of drawing up his Resolutions at length in Writing for him. Which gather'd together, and digested as I have seen them (says Bishop *Hacket*) would have made a very handsom Treatise. [62.]

And since I have mention'd his Writing, I will insert here, That although while he was immers'd in State-Affairs, he had not the leisure of a Writer; yet when he was retir'd to his Bishoprick, he undertook Two very great Designs for the Publick. The First was a Comment in *Latin* upon the whole *Bible*; at which Work he study'd so hard, as to impair his Health very much. The Notes collected from all good Authors, with the Bishop's own Hand, were formerly to be seen in the Custody of Mr. *Gouland*, Keeper of *Westminster-College* Library. And his Lordship knowing well, that to perform such a Task compleatly was

*Undertakes
a Comm.
on the Bi-
ble.*

[40.]

*And to
publish Bp.
Grosstead's
Works, who
flourish'd
in the
Reign of
Hen. VII.
Athen. Ox.
p. 5. Baleus
de Script.
Brit. Cent.
4. nu. 18.*

above the Abilities of any one Man, he did intend to leave it to be finish'd by Twelve or more of the best Scholars in the Nation, whom he had in his Eye, and was willing to give them Twenty Thousand Pounds rather than it should be left unfinish'd. The next thing he entred upon was to publish the Works of his Predecessor *Robert Grosthead*, who wrote several Books against the Ambition and Covetousness of the Church of *Rome*. These being in Manuscript, and scatter'd up and down, the Bishop search'd all the Libraries Foreign and Domestick where he had any correspondence, and digested what he could get of them, and wrote Arguments upon divers Parts of them. But whilst he expected more daily of the same Author, his Troubles in the *Star-Chamber* coming on, they put a stop to both these great Undertakings of his. Of which Troubles we have spoken before, and how at last he was releas'd from the *Tower*, and how generously he forgave his Enemies. So that now we fall in again in the order of Time with the Conclusion of the former Part, where we left him in the Year 1640.

It

It was not now a time for an Honest Man to busy himself about his own private Injuries, when the publick Interest of the whole Nation lay at stake; which wholly took up the Bishop's Thoughts. So that he made no delay to practice all the Arts and Contrivances he could think of, to reduce the murmuring *Scots*, if possible to some Terms of Agreement. He applies himself in the first place to *James* Marquess of *Hamilton* (whose Acquaintance he industriously shunn'd before) and advises with him what Methods were best to make the *Scots* Loyal. But yet he us'd him sparingly and with Caution, because he did not well know what to make of the Man; only he said, That he found him quite contrary to the Vulgar Opinion, by which he was reputed False and Cunning; for he thought him true in his Affections to the King, and so far from being Cunning, that he rather seem'd to want a *Reach*. In the next place, his Lordship insinuates himself into *Henderson*, and some of his Crew; he makes Presents to them, feasts them, tenders what Pay the King could afford to their Leaders. But the

His Endeavours to serve the King.

[143.]

House of Commons (knowing as well as he what Mettle the *Scots* were made of) out-bid him quite, and voted such a Sum of Money by way of *Brotherly Assistance*, as the King was not able to come up to, much less to surpass. Therefore when this fail'd, the Bishop attacks them after another Manner. He desires that they would not quarrel with the *Church of England*, but remember what Vows their *Kirk* had made, never to molest the Peace of this Nation. And this stagger'd some of that Faction; but the Gold on the other side at last quite overweigh'd his Lordship's Arguments, and render'd them ineffectual. So that now he tries how he can work upon the *Presbyterians*, with whom he was more in Favour than any other Bishops. He urg'd his Reasons to them so prudently, and wrought upon them with the Spirit of Meekness, in such a soft engaging way, that they could not but have a great Esteem for him, tho' of another side; and they did all they could with the greatest Offers they had, to buy him over to theirs. Some of them (when they saw how candid he was) made their Complaints to him

An. 3. Eliz.

[144.]

him of the Severity of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and of the rough usage they met with from some of the Prelates, upon which he excus'd the Matter; but still pleaded for *Episcopacy*, and *Church Government*. As [145.] far as Charity would allow, he would hear them discourse their Points civilly, but when he saw, *That they aim'd more at a regulated Crown, than at a regulated Mitre*, he would bear no longer with them. But in the *Committee* of Lay and Clergymen for the Church Affairs, where the Bishop of *Lincoln* had the Chair, he behav'd himself so much to the Content of the *Nonconformists*, that they admir'd his Conduct and his Curtesy. [146, 147.] Mar. 1. 1640. Laud's Troub. p. 174. Cypr. Ang. p. 472. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI.

While the Affairs of the Nation were in this Disorder, and the Bishop was daily consulted in Matters of Consequence; he was at the same time taken up too with some Considerations preparative to the Trial of the most Noble, and most Unfortunate Earl of *Strafford*; which was the most Pompous and Magnificent Scene of Judgment that was ever represented in this Island. This Great Man's Troubles gave *Lincoln* Occasion to shew [148, 149.] The Trial of the E. of Strafford. Lestrang. K. Ch. p. 219.

shew his Abilities in Two Points: First, about the Circumstance of the Examination of the Cause: Secondly, whether at this Earl's Trial, the Bishops might be admitted to vote amongst the Peers, it being a *Case of Blood*. To which he determin'd, that Bishops [150. &c.] in *England* might and ought to vote in such a Case. I omit the Transcription of his Reasons and Arguments upon both these Heads, and leave it to every Man to consult them as he thinks fit. But for all his Opinion declar'd, the Bishops were not present at the Trial.

[160.] But it is objected against the Bishop of *Lincoln*, that tho' he pleaded strongly in *Parliament* to his own Peril, in behalf of the Earl of *Strafford*, yet he perswaded the King to consent to his Death. It is my business to relate the Matter briefly and fairly, and let it in all its Circumstances plead for it self; for if they cannot excuse it, I am sure it is not [161.] fitting I should. How much the most Incomparable *Strafford* was the Hatred of a Turbulent and Mutinous People may be seen in all the Historians that mention him: As likewise how

[160.]
The Bishop
blam'd a-
bout the
Earl of
Strafford.

how very Clamorous they were for his Life, and how vehemently they thirsted after his Blood. The *Commons* they were resolv'd their Sentence past upon him should stand, and they would have his Head before they proceeded one step further in the Affairs of the Nation. The very Person of the King was in danger, if he withstood them; nay, and there was a Plot on foot against the Earl, in case the King refus'd to sign the Bill for his Beheading; for they were resolv'd to have him one way or other. When the Brave Earl heard this, he wrote to the King, *That he was well prepar'd for his End, and would not his Gracious Majesty should disquiet Himself to save a ruin'd Vessel that must sink.* So there appearing no Hopes at all of saving him, the *House of Lords* send Four Bishops, *Usher, Morton, Williams and Potter*, to advise his Majesty in this Difficulty, and to deliberate whether in Conscience he might yield to the obstinate Clamours of the People. And they state the Question thus to the King: *Since his Majesty refers his own Judgment to his Judges, and they are to answer it, if an Innocent Per-* Heylyn's
Resp. Petr.
p. 149.
&c.
son

son suffers; why may he not satisfy his Conscience in the present Matter, that since competent Judges in the Law had awarded, That they found the Earl guilty of Treason, to suffer that Judgment to stand, tho' in his own Mind he was satisfied that the Lord Strafford was not criminous? The Four Bishops gave their Opinions in the Affirmative, laying the Blame wholly on the Judges; and the Noble Earl was so far from taking it ill, that the Lord Primate assisted him in all his Preparations for a Better Life, and was with him on the Scaffold to the very last Moment of his Life. This is the plain Matter of Fact, so far as I can see, without Surmises on the one side or the other. But a certain

Historian, that relates things false as often as true, tells us, That the Bishop of Lincoln play'd a base Trick, and put a Paper into the King's Hand privately, which did the Earl's Business for him: the absurdity of which Narration was sufficiently evidenc'd before; but since there has been a greater insight into the Matter, and 'tis well known that the Paper, which the Bishop put into his Majesty's Hand,

Sander-
son's K.Ch.
p. 415, 416.

Heylyn's
Resp. Petr.
p. 153, &c.

[162.]

Hand, was only his humble Advice, to perswade him not to pass the Bill for a *Perpetual Parliament*. And but two Days before, he ask'd the King, *If his wise Father would have suffer'd such a Thing as an Indefinite Parliament to be demanded, much less have granted it? And, Whether it would be possible for his truest Subjects to do him Service any more?* But yet for all this, with the same Drop of Ink he sign'd the Bill for this *Parliament*, and for *Strafford's Execution*; as if it were impossible his Royal Prerogative should stand, when *Wentworth* the great Prop of it was fallen.

On Monday Morning the 10. of May, 1641.

Now the King prepares for a Journey into *Scotland* to appease the Seditious there. But the Bp. of *Lincoln* intreated his Majesty to put off his Journey thither for the present; and to consider, That the *Scotch* would reveal all he did or said amongst them to their Partners at *Westminster*, with whom they held a mutual Correspondence: 'That they had been tumultuous now for two Years, and that 'to pacify them on a sudden was a 'thing impossible in all probability. 'They have been rebellious so lately, 'that

[163.] Baker's Chron. 6. August. The Bishop advises the K. not to go to Scotland.

'that it is too soon to offer them
 'Courtesy; and they knowing in
 'what Condition your Majesty is,
 'will take it not for Kindness, but
 'for Fear. Keep near to the *Par-*
 '*liament*, all the Work is within
 'those Walls; do what you can to
 'win them Man^y by Man. And Sir
 '(continues he) I wish what I shall
 'tell you were not true; *Some of the*
Commons are preparing a Declara-
tion to make the Actions of your Go-
vernment odious: Stir not till you
have mitigated the Grand Contrivers
with some Preferments. But is this
credible? says the King. Judge you of
that, Sir, (replies the Bishop) when a
Servant of Pym's (in whose Master's
House all this is moulded) came to me,
to know of me in what Terms I was
contented to have my own Case in
Star-Chamber exhibited among other
Irregularities. And I had much ado
to keep my Name, and what concerns
me, out of these Quotations: but I ob-
tain'd that of the Fellow, and a Pro-
mise to know all they have in Contri-
vance, with some Money that I gave
him. But the King never regarded
the Bishop's Advice: and indeed his
 Ma-

Majesty could not endure to be near *Westminster*, if he could help it; for one of the *Bed-Chamber* has been heard say, *That nothing made him remove so far from his Court and Council, as the tediousness of Intelligence brought to him every Minute, with variety of Glosses and Opinions upon it.*

While the King was in the North, [164, 165, 166.]
 the Miseries of the Church began to increase. But notwithstanding the universal Contempt of *Episcopacy* at this time, *Lincoln* visited his Diocess in *October* in his own Person; which was the last Visitation, during those unhappy Times, in either Province. He saw there was great need at present to confirm and to strengthen the People, and to heal the many Divisions, that were daily made amongst them. But as soon as he had finish'd his Task, and was return'd again to sit in *Parliament*, he heard a Murmuring against him in the *Lower-House*, not only for visiting his Diocess, in such unsettled Times, but likewise because he had told the People in divers places, *That no Power could protect them against the Statutes still in force, that fell into Disorders and Deviations*

The Bishop visits his Diocess in the troublesome Times.

viations against them. So earnestly did the Bishop urge the People to a Conformity with the Church by Law Establish'd. And to clear himself, at a Conference between the *Two Houses* in the *Painted-Chamber*, he justify'd his Visitation and his Endeavours, to silence unlicenc'd Preachers, who were as bold, as if they were subject to no Government at all.

*The King
returns
from Scot-
land.*

*Baker's
Chron.*

[167]
*The Parl.
set against
the Bishops.*

And now on the 26th of Nov. the King came again to *London* from *Scotland*; and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, as at other Times, so now had the misfortune to have his Foresight of Things confirm'd by the Event. He had forwarn'd his Majesty of ill Designs, and of that *Remonstrance*, which the *Commons* publish'd on the 15th of *December*, by the Name of *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, wherein all the Trips and false Steps (in their Judgment) committed by his Majesty since he came to the Crown, and before, to that very Time, were represented with most undutiful and malicious Aggravations. Besides this, at his coming home, he found his *Clergy* and his *Bishops* in a fair way to be trampled under foot, and the *Parliament* were re-

resolv'd to sit it out, till they had accomplish'd their Designs; which were, to seclude the *Clergy* from all Secular Affairs, and to vote the *Bishops* out of the *Parliament-House*. His Majesty saw the Danger of this even to Himself, and did all he could to patronize the *Bishops*; and at this Time prefer'd some Worthy Men to vacant Bishopricks: and among the rest translated *Lincoln* to the Arch-bishoprick of *York*, and gave him leave to hold the Deanery of *Westminster* in *Commendam* for three Years longer, that he might have a place of Residence near the *Parliament*; his Majesty expecting that it could not continue much longer than that. But the *Parliament* held on much longer, and the Bishop never after one half year saw his Deanery more.

Bishop of Lincoln translated to York.

His Grace prov'd all along in this *Parliament* a stout and an able Champion for the Bishops notwithstanding the great Affronts and strong Oppositions they met with. And so remarkable was his zeal for them, that when his Majesty once saw him so very earnest to defend Episcopacy then oppos'd by the *Parliament*, My

York defends the Bishops in Parliament. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. 226.

Lord (says the King) I commend you, that you are no whit daunted with all Disasters, but are zealous in defending your Order. Please it your Majesty (replies the Arch-Bishop) I am a true Welshman, and they are observ'd never to run away, till their General do first forsake them. No fear of my flinching whilst your Majesty doth countenance our Cause. And in the foregoing May when the Privileges of the Bishops were call'd in Question, Williams in a Committee of the Lords stood up for his Brethren and maintain'd their Cause in a long Speech, which may be seen all faithfully transcrib'd out of his own Copy. So that he laid the design of bringing a Bill against them asleep for five Months, till this time when it began to come again into play. And now about Christmas the Mob was all in an uproar about the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand their Five Members impeach'd for Treason. After they had made a Tumult for some time about Whitehal, the cry went for Westminster, and the general Voice was, Let us pluck down the Organs, and deface the

[168.]

[176.&c.]

Hollis,
 Hallerig,
 Hamden,
 Pym and
 two de.

*The Arch-
 Bishop de-
 fines
 Westm.
 Abby from
 the Mob.*

the Monuments. When the Arch-Bishop of York (who was Dean of *Westminster*) heard of this, he made fast the Doors of the Abby against them; and when they would have forc'd them open, they were beaten off with stones from the top of the Leads; the Arch-Bishop in the mean time maintaining the Abby with a few more, for fear the Rabble should seize upon the *Regalia*, which were in that Place under his Custody. But within an hour, after the Multitude had been sufficiently pelted with stones from above, a few of the Arch-Bishop's Men open'd a door and rushing with their drawn Swords, dispers'd them all. But from this Time the Bishops durst not come near the *Parliament* House either by Land or Water, the Passages were so beset against them, and they so vehemently threaten'd by the People.

Upon this the Arch-Bishop with Eleven more of his Brethren meet the next day in his Lodgings. There he draws up a Petition and Protestation, first to crave Protection, and upon want thereof a positive Declaration, that whatsoever was done at the

Fuller's
Ch. Hist. B.
XI. p. 185,
186.

The Pro-
testation of
the Bishops.
Decemb.
27.

Lords House during their forc'd and involuntary Absence was invalid, and of none Effect. The other Bishops relying upon *York's* great Knowledge in the Laws, did at his Request set their Hands to it. And the Lord Keeper when he saw it, did profess, That it was the strongest and the fullest of Law of any that ever he saw in his Life: For the Bishop had modell'd it exactly by one of the same nature that he had found in the Records of the *Tower*, which he studied there, to the no small Prejudice of his Eyes.

D. Lloyd's
Life of
Williams.

The Bishops
sent to the
Tower.
Nelson's
Collect. Vol.
2. p. 794.
Enc.

On the 30th of *December* the Petition was read in the *House*, and the Bishops thereupon accus'd by the *Commons* of High-Treason, For endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental-Laws of this Realm, and the Being of Parliament, by preferring this Petition and Protestation. And upon this Accusation, they were committed to the *Tower*, where they must remain for 18 Weeks. Now the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who had been in the *Tower* for some time, had a better Neighbourhood than he desir'd, but no better Company than before; for on both sides they were agreed not to converse, lest

Cypr. Ang.
p. 492.

lest their Enemies should be exasperated at it, thinking they might plot together. But they often sent to one another Messages of Love and Consolation. Which mutual Civilities were scarce omitted for so much as a Day betwixt the Two Arch-bishops, notwithstanding all their great Differences before. So that whatever the former Scene of their Life was, the concluding Act was nothing but Peace and Love; a signal Instance both in *Buckingham* and in *Laud*, of the good Providence of that God, which *maketh Men to be of one Mind*.

Laud and Williams reconcil'd.

Never sure were any Pack of the blackest Villains so servily treated, and so abus'd, as were the Bishops at this Time. Whole Reams of Paper were wasted in Scurrility and Scandal upon them, adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar. One Notable Ballad among the rest, the Reader may see yet extant, which was made for a *Newyears-Gift* for the Bishops, upon their being committed to the *Tower*. And the Arch-bishop of *York* in particular was now as deep in the Hatred of the Common-People, as was the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. His Picture was

The Bishops libelled.

Nelson's Coll. vol. 2. p. 807.

Cypr. Ang. p. 492.

cut in Brags in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap on his Head, Bandileers about his Neck, (with reference to his Defence of the Abby) and a Musket on his Shoulder, with a Rest in his Hand; and abundance of other Buffoonery, which made him merry with the Conceit of it.

*The Bill
passes for
excluding
the Bishops
from Parl.*

While the Bishops were thus secur'd in the *Tower*, and scarce any body left to speak in their behalf, then the Bill against them was brought in, and on the the Sixth of *February* it pass'd currently in the *House of Lords*. For which they Themselves after suffer'd in the same sort from the *Commons*, as the Bishops did now from them: The Lords Temporal depriv'd the Bishops of their Right, and the *Commons* they excluded the Lords Temporal from theirs. Which Consequence might have been foreseen had they listen'd to the Marquess of *Dorchester*, who upon the 21. of *May* ask'd his *Peers*, *Which of your Lordships can say he shall continue a Member of this House, when at one Blow Six and Twenty are cut off?*

There

There was nothing now wanting ^{The King signs the Bill.} to ratify the Exclusion of the Bishops from the *Parliament*, and all Secular [181.] Affairs, but the Consent of the King. An. 1642.
For which Consent of his several have accounted several ways; some urging Necessity, some the hopes of appeasing the Nation by it for the present, till he saw a fitter time to restore the Bishops again. But my Author gives us this Narration of the Matter. When the King went with the Queen to *Dover*, to see her take Shipping for *France*, the Queen (whom his Majesty lov'd entirely) would not leave him till he sign'd this Bill against the Bishops; and what made her so urgent, was, that she was perswaded into an Opinion by Sir *John Culpepper* (who attended there for that Dispatch) that the *Lords* and *Commons* would press his Majesty no more so much against the Grain, if this one Bill were but sign'd; upon which hopes the King comply'd. And *York* told me (says *Hacket*) in the *Tower*, That the King had sacrific'd the Clergy to this Parliament, by *Artifices contriv'd at Dover*, a Day before the News was brought to London. * Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 195.

* And this Relation seems to agree

282 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

(bating the Circumstance of the Place)
 with one Author more, who says the
 Cypr. Ang. Bill was sign'd at *Canterbury*; as like-
 p. 493. wife does Dr. *Heylyn*, on the 14th of
 p. 498. *February*. But upon the 5th of *May*
The Bishops the Bishops were releas'd from the
releas'd *Tower*, upon *Bail*, by the *Peers*, and
from Pri- dismiss to their respective Dwellings:
son. [182.] at which Time *York* went privately
 away after the King, and never re-
 turn'd again. So that from hencefor-
 ward he enjoy'd nothing but Trouble
 to his very dying Day. Which makes
 me pity him the more, because his
 Miseries now took the Advantage of
 him: For Adversity which is in a
 manner but necessary to lay a dead
 weight upon the Extravagancies of
 Youth, and to Discipline the unexpe-
 rienc'd, is of no real Advantage to
 Age, and added to the Burden of
 Years, must needs prove intolerable.

The ABp.
follows the
King to
York.

Now the King was in *York*, and the
 Archbishop with several other Lords
 and Gentlemen, came here to offer their
 Service to his Majesty; amongst whom
 no Man was readier than his Grace with
 his Assistance. This was the first time he
 had seen his Bishoprick, which was
 conferr'd upon him about 7 Months
 before;

before; and wherein he promis'd himself much Satisfaction, by settling here, and living amongst the Gentry of this County, in the Splendor and Hospitality suiting his Dignity. But the common Fate of the Nation grew too apparent, to encourage any such hopes now, and things were so imbroil'd, that he could never settle his Family here. But to proceed with the Affairs [185, 186.] in which *Williams* was so much concern'd; no Man being more active to the utmost of his Abilities, to serve the King in this County.

The King had at *Hull* a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which was first provided for the late intended War against the *Scots*, and lay there ever since. His Majesty intended to possess himself of this Town, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was deny'd Entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by Orders from the *House of Commons* had newly taken Charge of that Place. Upon this the King proclaiming him a Traitor, was forc'd to retire, and bear the Indignity, for the *Parliament* would give him no
Re-

*The King
is deny'd
Entrance
at Hull.*

*Baker's
Chron.*

Redress. But the *Hothams* the Father and Son, made a Sally out of the Town after, with a Design, to take *Cawood-Castle*, where the Arch-bishop was. Late at Night the sad News was brought to his Grace, that he must remove thence, and leave the Country, as he tender'd his Life; for Young *Hotham* was preparing to come with sufficient Force by five a Clock next Morning to take the Castle, and had drawn his Sword in a hectoring manner, with a Vow to cut off the Arch-bishop's Head. Upon this, his Grace knowing the Temper of the Man, and that he had spoke much against him for his Disloyalty, and the Castle being ruinous and unfortified, he makes his escape thence after Midnight, with some few Horse, and what Goods he could carry off at so short a Warning, and left the Charge of the Castle to Mr. *Roger Nightingale*, a Gentleman of the King's Chapel. Thus was he forc'd to leave his Diocess, without any Provision for his Journey, without a Sumpter, without change of Apparel, and almost without Money; for all he could gather among his Tenants, while he was in

*The ABp.
at Mid-
night
makes his
Escape
from
Cawood-
Castle.*

[187.]

in *Yorkshire*, was little enough to furnish the King. But he had the good Fortune to meet his Majesty in the way, raising an Army, and beating up for *Volunteers*, in whose Service the Archbishop left the stoutest of his Followers, and kept but a very slender Retinue to follow him. At parting, upon his bended Knee (with Tears streaming from his Eyes, and hearty Prayers for his Majesty, he kiss'd his Hand, and receiv'd a Pass from him, to carry him safe into his own Countrey.

*He meets
the King in
his way.*

So now the Arch-bishop was come to *Aberconway* in *Caernarvonshire*, from whence he had been absent (except it were an accidental Visit, or so) for near fifty Years. And never did any People stand in greater need of a Wise and Couragious Person, to advise and to protect them, than the *Welsh* did at this Time; and no Man more proper for such an Undertaking than the Bishop. Who was very watchful in the first place, to detect such as held private Intelligence with the Enemy, several of which he secur'd, and made the rest fly for it. And to procure the Blessing of God upon his Endeavours; he set all *North-Wales* upon a more

*He arrives
at Aber-
conway in
Wales.
[208.]*

more earnest practice of their Religion, and order'd that frequent Prayers should be had in all Churches, with Fasting, and that Ministers should preach weekly, and no Man was oftner in the Pulpit than himself. After this, he made it his Business to unite all the Great Families in one common Interest, whose Emulation otherwise towards one another had drawn them off from the Service of the King. And for this Reason, he thought it might be most convenient, if he could get the Countrey all together, to fortify one place, and to appear in a Body, by which means they would be more secure, and more manageable too. Which thing at last he effected, and of which I shall give a plain and faithful Narrative, without any Glosses upon it; because it is what makes the greatest noise in our Historians, of all the Actions of the Bishop's Life.

*The ABp.
fortifies
Conway-
Castle.*

Conway-Castle was the place, that the Bishop had pitch'd upon for the general Defence of the Countrey. And so indefatigable was he in collecting Moneys, gathering Forces, repairing the Castle, casting up Works, in writing, sending, and making Interests, that he did

did as much as all the *Adjutants* besides, and more than his Health could well bear; which before was ever florid, but now began to droop, and continu'd from hence forward to decline. All this he undertook at his own proper Cost and Peril, without any Order from, or Notice of the King. But so soon as his Majesty heard of his Loyalty, he wrote often very kind and affectionate Letters to his Grace, of which so many as belong to the Business of *Conway-Castle* more immediately, are yet extant; one of which to give the more Satisfaction to my Reader, I shall transcribe here.

From Oxford, Aug. 1. 1643.

CHARLES R.

Most Reverend Father in God, &c. *The King's Letter to the ABp. about the Castle.*
 We are inform'd by our Servant Orlando Bridgman, not only of the good Encouragement and Assistance you have given him in our Service, but also of your own Personal and Earnest Endeavours to promote it. And tho' we have had long Experience of your Fidelity, Readiness and Zeal in what concerns us; yet it cannot but be most
 ac-

acceptable unto us, that you still give unto us fresh occasions to remember it. And we pray you to continue to give all possible Assistance to our said Servant. And whereas you are now resident at our Town of Aberconway, where there is a Castle, heretofore belonging to our Crown, and now to the Lord Conway, which with some charge is easily made defensible: but the Lord Conway being imprison'd by some of our rebellious Subjects, and not able to furnish it, as is requisite for our Service, and the Defence of those parts: You having begun at your own charge to put the same into repair, We do heartily desire you to go on in that Work, assuring you that whatsoever Moneys you shall lay out upon the Fortification of the said Castle, shall be repay'd unto you, before the Custody thereof shall be put into any other hand than your own, or such as you shall recommend.

Upon the backside of this gracious Letter, this the Arch-bishop has written with his own hand:

I Jo. Arch-bishop of York, have assign'd my Nephew Mr. Wil. Hooks Esq; Alderman of Conway, to have the Custody of this Castle, mention'd in his Majesty's Letter under his Signet, until I shall be repay'd the Moneys, and Money-worth disburs'd by me in the repair thereof, by virtue of this Warrant. And in case of Mortality, I do assign my Nephew Gryffith Williams to the same effect. Jan. 2. 1643.

Some time after this, his Majesty ^{The King} wanting the Assistance of the Arch- ^{sends for} bishop at *Oxford*, writes to him to ^{him to Ox-} come there to him, and to bring along ^[212.] with him the best Intelligence he ^{Decemb.} could procure of the Condition of ^{16. 1644.} his Majesty's Affairs. Upon this he sets out upon his Journey, notwithstanding the Ways were very much beset, and came to *Oxford* in *January*, and was kindly receiv'd at the Court; where he foresaw his stay must be but short, for the City was so crouded with Nobility and Gentry, that it could not entertain them long; neither could so many of the King's Trusty Friends be spar'd from their Counties any considerable

T

siderable time. His Grace therefore made the most use he could of his Time, in giving Counsel to the best of his Knowledge and Experience to his Majesty. One Prophetical Discovery which he made to his Majesty at this Time, is worth the remarking:

*The ABp.
Advice to
the King
about
Cromwel.*

For, he said, *That Cromwel, taken in-
to the Rebels Army by his Cousin Hamb-
den, was the most dangerous Enemy
that his Majesty had. For tho' he were
at that time of mean Rank and Use a-
mong them, yet he would climb higher.
I knew him (says he) at Bugden, but
never knew his Religion. He was a
Common Spokesman for Sectaries, and
maintain'd their Part with stubborness.
He never discours'd as if he were
pleas'd with your Majesty, and your
great Officers; and indeed he loves none,
that are more than his Equals. Your
Majesty did him but Justice in repulsing
a Petition put up by him against Sir
Thomas Steward, of the Isle of Ely;
but he takes them all for his Enemies,
that would not let him undo his best
Friend: and above all that live, I think
he is the most mindful of an Injury.
He talks openly that it is fit some should
act more vigorously against your Forces,
and*

and bring your Person into the Power of the Parliament. He cannot give a good Word of his General the Earl of Essex, because he says the Earl is but half an Enemy to your Majesty, and hath done you more Favour than Harm. His Fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist, much less to be what he aspires to, but by your Majesty's Bounty, or by the Ruin of us all, and a common Confusion. In short, every Beast hath some evil Properties; but Cromwel hath the Properties of all evil Beasts. My humble Motion is, that either you would win him to you by Promises of fair Treatment, or catch him by some Stratagem, and cut him short. All which the King receiv'd with a smile, and said nothing.

After the King had advis'd with his *The K. advises with the ABp. and some others.* Parliament at Oxford, and saw that little good came of it, but that Things remain'd much in the same ticklish posture; his Majesty call'd a few able Statesmen to him in private, the principal among them being the Archbishop; who therefore was desir'd to speak first, and freely to declare what means he thought most expedient to

[214.]

bring his Majesty and his Followers out of those Troubles, which the Lords and Gentlemen, that lately undertook it, *had left no better than they found them.* The Arch-bishop excusing himself, desir'd to hear others first whose Experience in those weighty Concerns might be beyond his. But this being not granted, and he being farther prest upon, spoke thus to the

[215.]
The ABp.
Advice to
the King.

King: *My Opinion, Sir, will be strange, and, I fear, unwelcome: If it please not, yet do not impute it to Falshood or Fear, but to Error and Mistaking. Your Militia is couragious, but small, not like to encrease, and then not to hold out. Your Enemies multiply, and by this time your Army hath taught them to fight: They are in Treaty with the Scots, to make a Recruit; and the Princes and States beyond Seas, to their shame, give them countenance. Their Treasurers at Westminster boast, that it costs them large Moneys every Month to keep Correspondence with their Intelligencers and Spies about you. Your Souldiers in their March and Quarters are very unruly, and lose the Peoples Affections every where, by the Oppressions they sustain. Out of these Pre-*
mises

mises I infer, and I engage my Life to your Majesty's Justice, and my Soul to GOD's Tribunal, that I know no better course than to struggle no further, since so it is the Will of GOD, and to refer all to the pleasure and discretion of that unkind and insolent Parliament at Westminster, but with the preservation of your Majesty's Crown and Person, to which they have all taken an Oath to offer no hurt or violence, and have renewed it in many Protestations: As likewise with Indemnity of your Adherents; for we save a Ship with the loss of the Goods, not of the Passengers. If any thing will soften them, it will be this most pacifick and gracious Condescension. The Heathen speak rudely, that Constancy in Suffering will tire out the Cruelty of the Gods; but certainly such Sufferance and Self-denial as resigns up your Majesty's Cause and Trust quite unto them, will make the worst of them asham'd of their Pertinacy, and melt the best into a shower of Repentance: But if your Majesty disdains to go so low and will not put the good of the Church and Kingdom upon their Faith, to which Misery, I fear, our Sins have brought us, I am ready to run on in the

294 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*
common Hazard with your Majesty, and
to live and die in your Service.

[217.] Some there were that concurr'd
with his Grace in this Advice, but the
King and the Generality dissented,
and his Thanks for his free Speaking
were but small. So his Majesty being
resolv'd to try his Right by his Sword,
the Arch-bishop was likewise deter-
min'd to assist him as before. And

The ABp.
returns to
Wales.

hereupon he leaves *Oxford* in the be-
ginning of the Spring, having receiv'd
a fresh Charge from his Majesty to
take Care of all *North-Wales*, but
especially *Conway-Castle*. So by easy
Journeys (guarded most of his way
by some Forces that march'd that
Road) he came to *Conway*, which
was the last Journey of his Life.

His Coun-
trymen lay
up all their
things in
Conway-
Castle.

As many in this Countrey as had
any thing to lose, were very solicitous
how to secure their Things. There-
fore they desir'd leave of the Arch-
bishop to lay up in the Castle all their
Plate, Jewels, Money, Writings, valu-
able Goods, and such like, each Person
having an Inventory of his own share.
And some that were suspected for their
Loyalty, yet amongst others obtain'd
this Favour, which was the ground
of

of much ensuing Mischief; tho' the Arch-bishop consented to it out of Policy, thinking by such Hostages as they put into his keeping, to secure these Persons to the Interest of the King. A Twelve-month after, Sir *John Owen* (a Colonel for the King) coming this way after a Defeat, he obtain'd of Prince *Rupert* to be substituted under his Hand, Commander of the Castle; and so surprising it by Force, he entred it; notwithstanding that the Castle was before given to the Bishop under the King's own Signet, to possess it quietly, till his cost lay'd out upon it should be refunded to him, which as yet had been never offer'd: and notwithstanding the Prince himself had back'd his Majesty's Pleasure therein, and had by his Letters commanded all Officers by Sea and Land to assist him in it.

[218.]

Athenæ

Oxon. p.

804.

The Castle taken from the ABp.

Upon this the Arch-bishop sends to his Majesty at *Oxford* this Remonstrance by the Hand of Captain *James Martin*.

I. **U**Pon the Ninth of May 1645. *He complains to the King.*
Sir J. Owen Governour of Con-
way, about Seven of the Clock in the
T 4 Evening

Evening, before the Night-Guard was sent unto the Castle, the possession whereof was placed by the King in the ABp. of York, and his Assigns, upon great and valuable considerations by his gracious Letters, and under his Majesty's Hand and Signet, bearing date at Oxford August 1. 1643. did with Bars of Iron and Armed Men, break the Locks and Doors, and enter into the said Castle, and seize upon the Place, the Victuals, Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, laid in by the said ABp. at his own charge, without the least contribution from the King or the Countrey, for the Defence of the Place, and the Service of the King and the said Countrey.

2. That being demanded by the said Arch-bishop to suffer two of the said Arch-bishop's Men to be there with his rabble of Grooms and beggerly People, to see the Goods of the Countrey preserv'd from filching, and the Victuals and Ammunition from wasting and purloyning, Sir John in a furious manner utterly refus'd it, tho' all the Company cry'd upon him to do so for his own discharge, yet he would not listen to any reason, but promised the next day

to suffer all things to be inventoried, and the Lord Arch-bishop to take away what he would, Sir John acknowledging all the Goods and Ammunition to be his.

3. The next day he receded again from all this, would not permit at the entreaty of the Bishop of St. Asaph, his own Cousin-German, any of the Arch-bishop's Men to go and look to the Goods, nor suffer his Servants to fetch forth for his Grace's use (who hath linger'd long under a great Sicknes and Weakness) either a little Wine, to make him some Cawdles, or so much as a little of his own stale Beer to make him Possets, which all the Countrey conceive to be very barbarous.

4. The said Sir John continueth rambling from place to place, and detaineth still all the goods of the Countrey, laid up in this Castle, as conceived to be owned by the Arch-bishop, who was like to be responsal for them; and had duly returned them in other Tears: and threatens to seize upon the Plate, and all things else of Value to his own use. Than which no Rebel or Enemy could deal more outrageously.

5. The Arch-bishop desires his Majesty would repossess him of the Right of this Castle, according to his Majesty's Grant made upon valuable consideration. And that if his Majesty's pleasure be that Sir Jo. Owen (or any other Man of more Moderation and less precipitancy) should be there, he come under the Arch-bishop his Assignment, as Right requires, and as Colonel Ellis and Mr. Chichely were content to do, and did. To the which the Arch-bishop (as Colonel Ellis and Sir Will. Legg can witness) was ever willing to give way.

6. That howsoever, the ABp. may have all his Goods and Chattels, all his Cannon, Ammunition, Arms, and Powder, Provision in Beef, Beer, Wine, Cheese, Butter Oatmeal and Corn presently restored to him. And what is wasted and made away, may be answer'd to him by Sir John: As also that all the Inhabitants of this and the Neighbour Countries, may have their Goods presently out of the Castle, before they be pilfered and imbezled.

7. Or otherwise, that his Majesty, and Prince Rupert his Lieutenant, will graciously permit and suffer, with their gracious Favour, the said Arch-bishop
and

and Inhabitants of the Countrey, to repair with their Complaints to the Assembly at Oxford, and the Committee there, against these, and many other Outrages and Concussions of the said Sir Jo. Owen, under colour of being Governour and Sheriff of this Town, not warranted by any of his Commissions.

This proved of none effect, and procured only delays from Week to Week, till at last Capt. Martin receiv'd this cold Answer, *That it should be consider'd at more Leisure.* When he return'd thus into *Wales*, and brought not the least Satisfaction, nor a Complimental Excuse to pacify the Archbishop he said nothing, lest he should have said too much: but his great Spirit was chaf'd with this great Indignity.

After this, fifteen Months expir'd, and the Arch-bishop had no Redress; at which time Col. Mitton (a violent Man against the King) coming from Chester (of which he was posselt) march'd over Dee, through Flint and Denbeshire, quite to Conway Town. Upon this the Arch-bishop consults with some few what was best to be done in this

[219.]
But has no Redress.

Col. Mitton by the Assistance of the Countrey possesses the Castle, and is'd by the ABp.

this Case, to secure the People and their Possessions. They agree to parley with *Mitton* (who was sensible enough of his own Strength and their Weakness:) They perceiving that the Col. aim'd at the Castle, where all their Wealth was deposited; and seeing moreover, That *he was more haughty than covetous, they clos'd by Insinuations with him, relating how Sir John Owen had surpriz'd the Castle, detain'd their Goods, and insulted over them who had born Arms in the same Cause; therefore they offer'd to joyn with him to put him into the Castle, upon Condition that every Proprietary might obtain what he could prove by the Archbishop's Inventory to belong to him; and all that was over and above, he should be welcome to it himself. And thus the Archbishop with his Art and fair Language, got Mitton's Consent; and immediately thereupon without the least delay the Souldiers, assisted by the * Archbishop and his Kindred, with other Welsh, forc'd open the Gates, and entred the Castle, which Col. Mitton possess himself of, and kept his Word in letting the Owners take those Goods to which they could prove their Title.*

And

[220.]
 * Hacket
 confesses it
 became
 not the
 ABp. to
 bear Arms,
 but acquires
 him in all
 the other
 Circum-
 stances of
 this Action.

And this is a brief Narration of the Matter of Fact, transcrib'd, almost Word for Word, out of B. *Hacket*; so that if any thing prove amiss, it is no fault of mine, for I knew not where to seek for better Information. If the Reader thinks the Arch-bishop stands in need of a Defence (especially from the black Constructions of some Hi-
Sanderf. K. Charles p. 889.
 storians) he may see how B. *Hacket* has commented upon this Action; or if he has a mind to read an Apology
Harmar's Apolog. Lond. pr. 80. 1649.
 for his Grace in a Piece of neat *Latin*, there is one extant. So I leave him to his own Judgment; adding only, That if the Arch-bishop had any such Designs as to assist the *Parliament* against the King, it is perhaps one of the greatest Inconsistencies that is to be met with (considering the whole Tenor of his Actions to this Moment) in any Man's Life; and to think of it
Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 227.
 was the wonder of all Men in those Times. And a certain Author affirms, that a Kinsman of his Grace's told him, *That if he might have the convenience to speak with his Majesty but one half Hour, he doubted not but to give him full Satisfaction for his Behaviour.* We are told too by another

302 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

Da. Lloyd.
at Pen-
rhyn.

other Hand, *That the dreadful Stories of his declaring for the Parliament, was nothing else, but his garrisoning of his own House, and discountenancing some stragling Cavaliers that did no good, but lye upon the Countreys themselves, and draw thither whole Armies of the Enemy to lye upon it too.*

[222.]

*The King
leaves Ox-
ford.
Baker's
Chron.*

Apr. 27.
An. 1646.

We have dwelt something long upon the Business of *Conway-Castle*, but it could not be well dispatch'd in less time. Now let us look a little again upon the melancholy prospect of the King's Affairs, in which tho' our ABp. now had it not in his Power to be active, yet he was deeply concern'd all along for his Majesty. Who now seeing *Oxford* was in danger of a Siege from *Fairfax's* Victorious Army, began to bethink himself of his own Safety, and was perswaded by *Monsieur Mountrevile*, privily to leave the Town; which accordingly he did, accompanied only with two Persons, and not above ten were made privy to it. And the first Tidings of his Royal Person was, that he was at the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*. Which when it was told our ABp. he said, *What! be advis'd by a Stranger, and trust*

trust the Scots! then all is lost. The Treachery of the *Scots* to his Majesty, and all the unparallel'd Troubles that henceforward attended the King, till that very Hour in which he was enroll'd amongst the Blessed Martyrs, suffering from the Hands of his own Subjects, all this the Reader is too seek for elsewhere, since it is foreign to my Purpose.

So I return to the ABp. who was ^{The ABp.} extremely concern'd at the Death of so ^{great sorrow for} good a King, whose Character in ^{a the Death} a Fast Sermon he had once given, ^{of the King.} *That* ^[225, &c.] *he was as like Virtue it self, as could be pattern'd in Flesh and Blood.* So deep a Sense had his Grace of the Loss of his most Sacred Majesty, and of the Guilt of his Innocent Blood that lay upon the Nation, that from this Time, he rose out of his Bed constantly at Midnight, and without any thing on but his Shirt and Waistcoat, kneel'd upon his bare Knees, and pray'd earnestly for a Quarter of an Hour, before he went to his Rest again. And the reason why he observ'd the Midnight-Season was, because the Scriptures speak of our Saviour's Coming in the Night; the principal Matter of his Prayers being

ing this, *Come, Lord JESUS, come quickly, and put an end to these Days of Sin and Misery.* From this time his Spirit (which no Misfortunes before could touch) was perfectly broke, and he never look'd up again. All his wonted chearfulness, and his pleasant Humour was quite overcast. No Man formerly more averse than he to Privacy, yet now he thinks no Retirement too close and obscure. He shuns Company all he can; his Discourse sparing, or if he inquires after any News, 'tis after those that try'd the King, especially *Cromwel* and *Bradshaw*, expecting every Hour some signal Judgment upon them. Thus disconsolate he continued for two Years and almost two Months, no one being able to give an account of any thing he did, but that he pray'd and read all Day, and much of the Night. And now every Month brought on a greater Decay in his Constitution than a Year before. Nor was he without Prognosticks of his Death (as 'tis said) some time before it: and sometimes, when he had said Grace after Meat, and was rising from the Table, he would say, *I am ready for the Lord.*

His

His Death was occasion'd by a sudden Catarrh, which caus'd a Quinsey, and a shortness of Breath, all which dissolv'd him in the space of twelve Hours. During which time the Virtuous Lady *Mostyn* (at whose House he was) spoke to him of his preparation for another World: *Cousin* (says he) *I am already prepar'd, and will be better prepar'd.* So he sent for the Minister that was nearest, and had the *Visitation of the Sick* read twice over to him, the greatest part whereof (especially the *Psalms*) he repeated distinctly himself, and receiv'd *Absolution*. When the Pangs of Death were upon him, many other Prayers were read, and short Sentences of Devotion repeated aloud in his Ears; and these Words being said often, *The Lord be merciful to thee, the Lord receive thy Soul*, at that Instant, first he clos'd his Eyes with one Hand, and then lifting up the other, his Lips mov'd, and recommending his Spirit to his Redeemer, he expired. [* 228.]

* He died aged 68 Years 1650. the Day of his Birth and of his Death being the same; which happening on the 25 of *March*, it occasioned some

1649. according to some.
Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 228.

U

dispute,

dispute, whether his Half-year's Rents (due after Sun-rise) should go with his *Goods and Chattels* to his *Executor*, or fall to his *Heir*. But such was the *providence of the Parties concern'd therein, that before it came to a Suit,*

His Burial. they seasonably compounded it among *Athen. Ox. themselves.* From *Glodded* (where he

vol. 2. p. died) in the Parish of *Eglwysfrose* his

684. 685. Body was carried to *Penrhyn*, and

** In Welsh it signifies the Church* there buried in ** Llandegay Church,*

of St. Gay. in a little Vault, at the upper end of

He left his the Chancel. Some Years after this,

Heir 1000. his Nephew and Heir *Sir Griffith Wil-*

l. per An. liams, erected on the North-Wall of

Da. Lloyd. the said Chancel a very fair Monu-

Life of ment, with the Effigies of the ABp.

Williams. kneeling, in white Marble, and a

large Inscription under it, made by

Dr. John Hacket, his sometimes Chap-

lain.

His Cha- I am thinking whether after this

acter. full Draught of the Actions of this

great Man, it would not be an Abuse

to my Reader's Reflection to con-

clude with a Character of him: Espe-

cially since a great part of this Life is

wrote by way of Character, and his

Actions very often for the clearer view

of him dispos'd under proper Heads,

omit-

omitting the Series of Time. But then again, since I find in Authors something of his Person, and something of the Qualifications of his Mind, which I have not as yet so fully told my Reader of, I thought it might not be unacceptable, if I collected the few following Observations upon him. So singular was the Strength of his Constitution, so strict his Education, so unwearied his Industry, and so vast his Capacity, that 'tis a hard matter to determine to which of all these he was most indebted, for all his more than ordinary Qualifications. *His Learning was copious, his Judgment stay'd, his Apprehension clear and searching, his Expression lively and effectual, his Elocution flowing and Majestick.*

D. Lloyd's
Life of
Williams;
& Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI. p.
228.

His Person was proper, his Countenance comely, his Complexion fair and lovely; his Gait so stately, that most People mistook it for Pride, but his Conversation free and familiar to a Fault; Judge of the greatness of his Spirit, by his refusing the Offers of his Friends, when he was in his lowest Condition in the Tower, saying, *That he knew not how to take from any but*

[75.]

[63.] *a King.* He was subject to sudden Passions, but never so as to lose himself, for at such times he would reason with all exactness of a calm Temper. He understood how to nick an Opportunity; and would say, *That every Man had it sooner or later.* When he was to appear in Publick, he took great care about his Preparation; *And the greater the Performance he was to undertake, the more Liberty and Recreation he took,* saying, That we could add nothing to what had been done before, but Method and Perspicuity. Which Judgment of so great a Man I desire may plead for me, in attempting this Performance, after a Reverend and Learned Prelate.

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
228. §. 31.

And now having brought so considerable a Person (*by Honour and Dishonour, by good Report and evil Report*) at last to the Period of a busy, active and troublesom Life; I shall moralize upon the whole, with what his Lordship himself once said to a grave Divine, coming to him for Institution to a Living: *I have (said he) pass'd through many Places of Honour and Trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in England these seventy Years*

*Tears before. But were I but assured,
that by my Preaching I had converted
but one Soul unto GOD, I should take
therein more Spiritual Joy and Comfort,
than in all the Honours and Offices
which have been bestow'd upon me.*

The E N D.

A N
A P P E N D I X
To the L I F E of
ABp. WILLIAMS.

*Wherein is a true Account of his
 Benefactions to St. John's Col-
 lege in Cambridge; with a brief
 Vindication of that College from
 the Aspersions that have been un-
 justly thrown upon it with re-
 ference to this Most Reverend
 Prelate.*

I Hope my particular Relation and
 Obligations to this Worthy So-
 ciety, and the heinousness of the
 Charge laid against it (and yet cre-
 dited by a great many) will excuse
 me for troubling the World with
 these few following Pages, which I
 have Collected from some Papers,
 drawn from the College Writings, by
 a late Member of the Society, on pur-
 pose

pose to rectifie the World in a mistake, which might prove of ill Consequence to the Credit of Colleges in general, but of ours in particular.

A certain Author, who seems industrious to defame us (upon what provocation we know not) makes bold to tell the World (bringing no Authority at all for so black and malicious an Aspersion) that *Arch-Bishop Williams at St. John's College in Cambridge Founded two Fellowships, Built a fair Library, and furnish'd it with Books, intending more, had his Bounty then met with proportionable Entertainment*; and then he concludes with this cutting remark, *But Benefactors may give Money, but not grateful Minds to such as receive it.* The application of which to our Society I shall demonstrate to be wholly impertinent and false to all candid Persons, who shall read the following true State and Account of that our noble Benefactor's Liberality.

And first, to do him more Right than this our great Accuser has done, we do most gratefully acknowledge, that besides his two mention'd Fel-

*The Recto-
ries of
Freshwa-
ter and
Souldren
and the
Donatives
of St. Flo-
rence and
Aberdar-
ron.*

lowships, he Founded four Scholarships, and gave us the perpetual Advowson of four Ecclesiastical Benefices, Two with Cure and Two without Cure; besides a very fair large gilt Bowl with a Cover, for publick use at Festivals. From this Acknowledgment I proceed to a short Vindication of the College, beginning with that, whereby his Lordship gave us the first and that a very pregnant Instance of his Munificence, which is his building of a very fair Library. The Old Library of the College being not capacious enough for it's intended use, and a second Court being added to the College for the most part at the vast Charge of that magnificent Lady, the Lady *Mary*, Consort of the Right Honourable *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; they were now casting about, by what means they might procure a New Library. And there was no one on whom they could with better Hopes cast their Eyes, or with more confident Expectations make their Addresses to, to begin and carry on so great and noble a design, than Dr. *John Williams*, at that time Dean of *Westminster*.

fter, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal: one who had a particular knowledge of most and a friendly familiarity with some of the Fellows, and a special kindness for this Place of his Education, wherein he lay'd the first Grounds of all his future Advancements. Being besides of a Liberal and Generous Spirit, and by his great Office and Promotions in a full Capacity alone to undertake, advance and compleat such (or a more expensive) Publick and beneficial Work; the Society encourag'd with all these favourable and inviting Circumstances, they make Application to him, and their humble suit finds a very kind Entertainment. In pursuance whereof a Model is drawn, presented, approv'd, and Materials providing for the Fabrick. And in this lucky juncture of Things, that noble Gentleman *Sr. Ralph Hare* of *Stow-Bardolf* in the County of *Norfolk*, Knight of the *Bath*, having some time before read *Sr. Henry Spelman. De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, and thereupon resolving to restore to some pious use his Improprate Rectory of *Cherry-Marham* by

settling it upon this *College*, did forthwith very seasonably bestow Three years Rent of the said Impropropriation (which lay sequester'd by him for some good design) amounting to 192 *l.* to begin the Foundation of the New Library. The most bountiful Prelate prevented by this unexpected Gift from laying the first Stones, yet follows the Work begun with continu'd and large supplies, at several times, in the years 1623 and 1624. to the value of 2011 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* And the rest of the Charge for the entire finishing of the whole Work fell upon the College it self, which was (besides the daily allowance of Bread and Beer to the Workmen) in ready Money 787 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* The whole cost of the Building amounting to no less then 2991 *l.* 10 *s.* 10 *d.*

Now we have been so far from disobliging this so profuse a Benefactor, with respect to his first Essay of bounty towards us, that we have not envy'd him the Glory of the whole, in commonly reputing him the sole Founder of this goodly Building, in as much as he was so deeply concern'd in bearing well near Two third parts

parts of the Charge: But seeing we are forc'd to this in our own Vindication, we could no longer suppress the truth (tho' it somewhat derogate from his Lordship's suppos'd Munificence, as the only Erecter of the Library) lest we should be found too injurious to the Honour and Memory of that generous Knight, who so freely contributed to the first Foundation, and false to the Society it self, which underwent the great Charge of near a Thousand pounds to perfect the Work.

As to any Books, with which this great Founder is represented by our calumniating Historian to have immediately furnish'd the New-erected Library, we declare that we find no Memorial, but on the contrary have Grounds highly reasonable to believe, that he did then confer none. One Reason for all may be, that our Predecessors (who provided a fair *Vellam* Book to perpetuate the Memories of all the worthy Benefactors to the Library, that either have been, or are to be) took care to have his Lordship's Picture at length and Arms drawn therein, and that his special Bene-

Benefaction should be most advantageously transmitted to Posterity, have done it in these Words. *Reverendus in Christo Pater Johannes Episc. Lincoln. &c. hanc splendidam Bibliothecam præter duos Socios & quatuor Scholares, fundavit. At non contenta hisce magnificis ædibus tam effusa honoratissimi Præsulis Benignitas, propriæ Bibliothecæ Libros (uti patet ex Syngraphâ) nobis dicavit.* Which words as they plainly shew only a design and voluntary obligation on his Lordship's Part for the future to give his own Library, so they do by implication strongly infer, that he had not then actually extended his Bounty that way. And let the World now judge, whether the then Society did hereby give any the least suspicion of ingratitude, in that their lasting Memorial of his Bounty, which might justly hinder his intended future Munificence; when they thus openly and freely recognize him as well the Founder of the Library it self (notwithstanding the other foremention'd Disburfments for the Fabrick) as of two Fellows and four Scholars: and what pretence

tence or reason our Historical Caviller had for publishing such an Assertion, that the unthankfulness of the College, and their unsuitable Reception and Return of their great Benefactor's Liberality had put a final stop to all other his Lordship's design'd Favours.

His Lordship indeed did soon after this, upon second Thoughts, (but chiefly upon the humble suggestion of the College, that a present Supply of Books would be more acceptable) take in his former Instrument, whereby he gave his own whole Library after his death to the College, and in compliance with their Request oblig'd himself by Indenture, to the Annual Payment of One Hundred pounds for Ten years together then next to come, for the more speedy furnishing of the Library with Books; and for further security thereof did anew make over his own Library, and sent a true Catalogue of his Books to be kept among the *Records* of the *College*. Which Annuity of one Hundred pounds for Ten years, or any part thereof being never paid, (by what neglect or mischance

chance is not known) his Lordship foreseeing the Troubles coming upon him, wherein he was for several years after forely involv'd, did order his said Library (then in the Custody of one *Kilvert* and by him much imbezled) to be deliver'd up into the Possession of the *College*, for the satisfaction of that Thousand Pound, for which his own Bounty had made him a Debter. And accordingly impair'd as it was it came into the *College*-hands, and so continu'd till the year 1640. when his Lordship was set at Liberty from the *Tower*, and in some measure restor'd to his Majesty's Grace and Favour, and advanc'd to the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*. Upon which his happy Restitution and high Promotion, his Library, as receiv'd, was at his Instance return'd back, and lent unto him again (no ungrateful disobligation we hope) and by him remov'd to his Study in the Deanery of *Westminster*. And upon his Lordship's removal first to *York*, and then his retirement into *Wales*, they were seiz'd upon by the *Parliament*, and committed to the Custody of some Gentlemen for seven

ven years. After which time, at the Arch-Bishop's Suit the Keys of his Study were deliver'd to one Mr. *Gouland*, as Trustee for the Bishop during his Life, and some of the Books in the mean time sent down by his Lordship's order to him in *Wales*. Upon his Lordship's Death the remainder of the Library fell into his Administrator's hands, from whom the *College* at last receiv'd them, and gave both him and Mr. *Gouland* and other Persons concern'd legal Discharges as well for the Annuity aforesaid (for which being unpay'd they accepted the mangled Library as a full Compensation) as for the Books themselves. The truth of which do's fully appear from the several Releases given by the *College* *An.* 1650. under their common Seal to the interess'd Persons; which to insert here would be too tedious.

The Books being thus come into the Possession of the *College*, it was next to be advis'd, how they might be most advantageously bestow'd according to the Noble and Right Reverend Donor's Mind, and for the benefit of the Society. It was therefore

fore at length concluded by and with the approbation of *Griffith Williams* Esquire, his Lordship's Heir and Administrator, that such Books as were entire and not before in the Library should be reserv'd and there dispos'd; and the rest either Imperfect or Duplicates to be sold, and with the Monies thereby rais'd (after charges deducted) a Purchase of Lands should be made, the Rents whereof should be determin'd partly to the Annual Increase of the Library-Keeper's stipend (as he himself had design'd) and partly for buying of Books, to be for ever reputed as of his Lordship's Gift, that so he might continue a perpetual Benefactor to that Library, whereof he truly was the chief Founder. The account of all which both Sale and Purchase (the Particulars being yet to be seen) as left us upon *Record* under our Auditor's own Hand, makes it appear, that the *College* did expend 125*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* more about the Books and the Purchase than they had then receiv'd for them. Which Sum they did first reimburse themselves with (as in all Reason and Equity they ought) out of the yearly

yearly Rents of the purchas'd Lands,
and after that did yearly pay the full
Rents of those Lands in the following
manner.

To the Library- Keeper for the Augmentation of his stipend.	l. s. d. 06. 13. 04.	} l. s. d. 20.00.00
For Books for the Library, as his Lordship's perpetual Gift.	l. s. d. 13. 06. 08.	

I doubt not now but that this
Account, as it is true, so also will be
satisfactory to all unprejudic'd Per-
sons, and justify both it self and our
Predecessors, as well as the living
Members, that neither the past nor
present Society have in this Instance
in the least wrong'd our great Pa-
tron's Donation, or done any thing
unworthy of those vast obligations
he hath lay'd upon this *College*. And
if perchance in the Judgment of any
one who is Impartial, they have been
mistaken in their Measures, and have
not set out our Benefactor to the fair-
est advantage; yet the Concurrence

of his Heir and Administrator with them (the properest and most likely Assertor and Promoter of his Honour) will vindicate that their Error from any malicious and ungrateful design of derogating from his Bounty and deserv'd Glory.

I have been something particular in the Account of the Library, because it was but short, and because it has been and is much talk'd of still to the great discredit of the College. I should in the next place go on to give an Account of his other Benefactions to us, and that neither our Predecessors nor we have ever abus'd any of them; as likewise with what Respect and Gratitude the Society behav'd themselves to him while he was alive, and how they always look'd upon his Requests unto them as so many Commands. But to give the particulars of all this (as might be done from the College Writings) would make this Appendix Voluminous, and would be but to trouble the Publick perhaps too much with a private injury. And I shall only add one of all his Lordship's Letters to the College to shew how far he was from charging it with ingratitude to him.

My

My Reverend and Worthy Friend,

I Dorecommend to you the Bearer here-
of John Williams, a Scholar from my
poor Foundation at Westminster, to
succeed in that vacant Scholarship void
in your College sithence the last Com-
mencement. So that what I subscrib'd
to a Petition of one Robinson, a Pen-
sioner of that Society, is hereby become
void; I not knowing at that time of
any of that Foundation which would
accept thereof. I do acknowledge I am
much bound to you and the Seniors, for
many Favours done to my poor Scholars
from time to time; and shall hardly be
able to make any Requital for the one
part, much less am I in case to be a
Petitioner for those to come. But if
you shall be pleas'd, with those of the
Seniority that have any Remembrance
of me, for his own Worth (which, as I
conceive by some Exercises of his, is
more than ordinary) and at the Intreaty of
a Beadsman of your College (who lieth
buried here in an heap of Stones) to chuse
one Thomas Tylden now Student in
your House, and an Oxfordshire Man
(of which County you were wont to
have but very few) into a Foundresse's
X 2 Place,

Place, whereof (if I remember your Statutes) he is very capable, you shall thereby do a worthy Act, which includes much of the Recompence in it self, and oblige me (if GOD ever bring me from this Place) to study upon all Occasions to requite it. You may have many Bishops that can better gratify your Courtesies at this Time, but not one that loves your Society more affectionately, and prays for it more devoutly than

Your Loving Friend and Servant,

JO. LINCOLN.

I recommend me heartily to your self and all the Seniors.

Tower, this 23.
Sept. 1640.

Tommy Reverend and worthy Friend Mr. Dr. Beale Master of St. John's College in Cambridge.

Now, where I wonder, in all this Letter is there the least Appearance of any disgust taken by his Lordship at the College, so as to make him repent either of his former Kindnesses to it, or to put a stop to any future; when it grieves him that he is not in a Capacity of doing more than he had done? And that he continued to have the same

same benevolent Mind towards this his Mother-College to his dying Day, we have very good Grounds to believe. For Mr. *Thomas Wharton* sometime of *Gray's-Inn*, diverting himself one *Christmas* (since the Bishop's Death) in this Place of his Education, upon occasion of Discourse concerning his Lordship's Foundation, did upon his Credit declare to several Members of this Society, That for some time before this Renowned Prelate's Death,

* he often heard his Lordship mention the Kindness of the *College* to his Foundation, and how unhappily his Designs of making them Reparations for the Detriment they had sustained thereby were frustrated. For they accepted of his Foundation of Fellows and Scholars (merely out of Gratitude to him) at less than half the Revenue, which was sufficient to maintain it, for which reason after the sustaining of much Loss, they were at last forc'd to sink the Fellowships in their own Defence, and in compliance with a Statute of the College. But (continues Mr. *Wharton's* Account) that he was finally resolv'd to be as good as his Word, and leave them a large

* Wharton was at that time Secretary to the Archbishop.

and lasting Testimony of his additional Bounty: that in Prosecution of this generous Resolution he had pitch'd upon an Estate of Three Hundred Pounds *per An.* to be settled upon the *College* for ever to this End and Purpose; That the Writings of settlement were actually drawn, and read over to, and approv'd of by him. But it being somewhat late at Night, and his Lordship much indispos'd, he defer'd the signing and sealing of them, till the next Morning, before which time it pleas'd God to take him out of the World. By which we and our Successors were not only depriv'd of a Noble Benefactor, but of a perpetual Advocate; this his last Design (had it but by a short continuance of his Life taken effect) being sufficient to stop the Mouths of all our Accusers, and to vindicate the Innocence of the Society from those ill surmizes that it has for some Years very unjustly labour'd under.

The End of the Appendix.



The Inscription upon the Arch-
bishop's Tomb-Stone, compos'd
by Bishop Hacket.

Hospes lege, relegere. Quod in hoc Sa-
cello, paucis noto, haud expectares,
Hic situs est Johannes Wilhelmus, omni-
um Præsulum celeberrimus:

A paternis natalibus è familia Wilhel-
morum de Coghwillin ortus,

Amaternis è Griffithis de Pentrin.

Cujus summum ingenium, & in omni ge-
nere literarum præstantia

Meruit, ut Regis Jacobi gratiâ ad De-
canatum Sarum

Post Westmonasterii eveheretur.

Ut simul, atque uno munere, tanto Regi
esset à consiliis secretis & deliciis,

Magni Sigilli Custos, & Sedis Lincol-
niensis Episcopus:

Quem Carolus primus insula Epi-
scop. Eboracen. decoraret.

Omnes scientias valde edoctus: novem
linguarum thesaurus:

Theologiæ puræ & illibatæ medulla: pru-
dentiae politicæ cortina:

Sacræ, canonicæ, civilis, municipalis sa-
pientiae apex, & ornamentum.

Dulci-

Dulciloquii cymbalum, memoria tenacissima, plusquam humana:

Historiarum omnis generis myrothecium.

Magnorum operum, usque ad sumtum viginti mille librarum, structor.

Munificentiae, liberalitatis, hospitalis laetitiae,

Misericordiae erga pauperes insigne exemplum.

Postquam inter tempora luctuosissima satur esset omnium, quae videret, & audiret;

Nec Regi aut Patriae, per rabiem perduellium, amplius servire potuit;

Anno ætatis 68°. expleto, Martii 25. qui fuit ei natalis,

Summâ fide in Christum, inconcussâ erga Regem fidelitate,

Animam, anginâ extinctus, piissimè Deo reddidit.

Nec refert quod tantillum monumentum, in occulto angulo positum,

Tanti viri memoriam servat.

Cujus virtutes omnium ætatum tempora celebrabunt.

Abi viator, sat tuis oculis debes.